

# **THE STUDENT WORLD**

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**Of One Blood?**

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**FOURTH QUARTER 1951**

# THE STUDENT WORLD

Serial Number 174

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## Of One Blood?

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PHILIPPE MAURY, *Editor*

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## OF ONE BLOOD ?

We cannot confess another man's sins. In considering the race problem in an ecumenical setting this is a very important thing to remember. It is not only that we must be sinless before we begin to cast stones. Nor is it that our own sins must always be the gravest of all for us. It is that we are all committing the same sins. There are only two great commandments. There is no third commandment for sins committed in race relations. If we sin against another man our sin does not consist in the fact that he may be of another race but that he is our neighbour. When, therefore, we are tempted to confess the sins of the South Africans, or the Americans, or the Australians, let us remember that their sins are common ones. He who has not sinned against God or his neighbour may cast the first stone.

The fact that there are no such things as "racial sins" implies another point which may not be so easily understood. That is, that there is no such thing, strictly speaking, as a "race problem". This may sound strange in an issue of *The Student World* which is apparently dealing with just that question. This is not to say that "race problems" do not exist. As "problems" they are very serious but it is not always certain how much "race" has to do with them. The more one studies present "race problems", the more clear it becomes that race is only one part of those problems, often only a minor part, and sometimes has nothing to do with them at all. How do

such confusions arise and how may we avoid them in our consideration of this difficult question ?

In the first place, we must remember that "race" is a very ambiguous term. Most anthropologists agree in classifying mankind into three very broad "racial" divisions : Mongoloid, Negroid, and Caucasoid. But this is an admittedly arbitrary classification and general agreement does not go much beyond it. But not only are scientists hesitant in making any but the most general racial classifications ; they are even more hesitant in drawing conclusions and making generalizations on the basis of "race". In a statement on the race question prepared for U.N.E.S.C.O. by a group of international scientists it is asked that "the biological fact of race and the myth of 'race' should be distinguished". They were striking at the common misuse of the term "race" in applying it to various national, linguistic, cultural, geographic and religious groups and endowing it with special emotional and moral connotations which have no scientific foundations.

This lack of precision in the use of the term "race" leads to many of our confusions and difficulties in dealing with the "race problem". We confuse "blood" and "race" by not knowing that the four basic biological blood "types" have nothing whatsoever to do with racial divisions. We confuse "colour" and "race" though scientifically they cannot be identified. We make generalizations about habits, intelligence or temperament on the basis of "race" without being acquainted, for instance, with the excellent studies of U.N.E.S.C.O. on the race question, which show that there is no correlation between such things as mental ability, cultural vitality, or social behaviour and race. Scientific findings are no final authority, and terminological precision will not solve the problems. But scientific knowledge and exact use of language will help to transfer many "race problems" out of the emotionally-charged atmosphere of race into the realms of science where they belong and where they can be dealt with in a rational and systematic way. Confusion between facts about race and myths about race is one of the most common and least defensible failings in this field.

In the second place, race problems are never as simple as their name suggests. They are nearly always the outward

expressions of deeper, more fundamental, political, social and economic problems. A study of the Negro problem in the United States reveals this very clearly. There is the social problem of the Negro which is created by his history of slavery which has put him out of step culturally with the rest of the community. There is the economic problem : the economically insecure fear the Negro as the traditional source of cheap labour. There is the problem created by the threat of Negro voting power to vested political interests. To include all these conflicts and tensions under the category of "race problem" is a dangerous and misleading oversimplification. One of the things which make Alan Paton's novel *Cry, the Beloved Country* such a valuable and penetrating book is the fact that he avoids oversimplification. He is, in fact, not writing about a "race problem" at all but about the vast, irresistible upheaval of a "country" and its effect on the men within the different cultural, social and economic groups of it. The race problem is seen as a part of the whole. That is how it always must be seen for it to gain its proper perspective.

Finally, there is the fact of human solidarity. Two secular anthropologists write : "The races of mankind are what the Bible says they are — brothers. In their bodies is the record of their brotherhood." This underlines a truth for which Christians need no scientific substantiation. But the Christians should understand it at a deeper level ; they should understand that as men they are inevitably bound up with the life and the problems of other men. For example, Gunnar Myrdal wisely entitled his great study of the Negro problem in the United States *The American Dilemma*. The dilemma illustrated is that of the whole of American society which has projected its fear, its jealousy, its pride, its insecurity on the minority whose cultural history and physiological nature separates them from the rest of the community. What is true of America is true of the whole world. Today, directly or indirectly, the "race problem" is "our" problem whoever we are and wherever we are.

Here we return to the necessity of confessing our own sins rather than the sins of others. Our common involvement in the race problem precludes any place for self-righteousness. The

Church itself is a plain example of this. The Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches reported in regard to racial discrimination : "It is here that the Church has failed most lamentably, where it has reflected and then by its example sanctified the racial prejudice that is rampant in the world." At the Executive Committee of the Federation in Berlin this year we heard of the division of men of common faith and confession at the Lord's Table by their race or colour, perhaps the most tragic of our ecumenical divisions. The race problem is more than a race problem for the Church for it involves the "one Body" and the "one flesh". Unity is a gift of God. In a common confession of sins we receive it. And in the life of sanctification, through the power of the Holy Spirit, it is nourished and protected : "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name : which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." This alone must divide and unite men.

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It is with these thoughts that the following material is presented. At the Executive Committee of the W.S.C.F. in 1948, it was decided "that the Political Commission should give major attention to this issue" of the race problem. This has been carried on through papers on various aspects of the race problem in different countries, discussions between those holding opposing political and theological views, and the collection of pronouncements of student groups on this subject. Selections from this material may be found in the Chronicle of this issue. This number of *The Student World* is the culmination of that discussion. It is hoped that it may be a small contribution to the deeper understanding of a problem which causes so much anguish and suffering in the Church and world today.

K. R. B.

# Race Relations in the United States

CHARLES S. JOHNSON

Just as there have been two major crises in the experience of the Negro in America in the last hundred years — the first, emancipation, and the second, migration — so there have been two major and more or less corresponding periods of readjustment in the attitude of white Americans towards Negroes. During the period of slavery, in the minds of most Americans (and especially in the South where the Negroes were) the Negro was the slave and the slave was the Negro. Race and colour had become inextricably associated with the concept of permanent, and hence biological, inferiority. Emancipation freed the slave from slavery but not from the concept of inferiority. He was a freedman, but neither a free man nor an equal. The end of the Reconstruction Period marked the defeat of the first efforts to establish his claim to this free and equal status. It has taken major economic changes, two world wars, and the persistent working of basic American social concepts to set the stage for the re-establishment of that claim and to initiate in the mind of the average white American the revolution necessary to see the Negro as a man, with a moral personality and human rights equal to his own. This revolution has not yet been accomplished, but there are unmistakable evidences that it has begun, and that, barring the development of social trends altogether unfavourable to an equalitarian philosophy, it will continue to gain strength.

## *Post-war racial tension*

World War II precipitated a period of racial tension which was marked on the surface by a large number of incidents ranging from a scuffle on a street car to full scale riots, and by

a multiplication of rumours and fears. The intervening years since the war have brought little let-up in the tension, although the character of the incidents, the immediate causes, and the geographical distribution have varied with changing conditions. Some observers have interpreted these manifestations as *prima facie* evidence of the deterioration of race relations. Even now voices are being raised to proclaim that outside interference and government action are poisoning the relations between the races and hindering constructive developments, and racial incidents in all parts of the country are pointed to as evidence of unwise disturbance of accepted arrangements and relationships. A careful analysis of the developments that have taken place during and since the war, however, gives strong support to the thesis that the racial incidents and the emotional reactions of individuals in themselves are not conclusive, but are rather symptoms of basic social changes which, in the long run, may well prove wholesome. For not only do these developments appear to be shaping themselves into a new and more democratic pattern, but many leaders, North and South, national and local, have begun to recognize that new conditions require new attitudes and techniques and are prepared for and even insisting upon action which, a short while ago, seemed remote and unlikely.

The usual assumptions back of the popular estimates about the state of race relations have been that where there is quiescence and an undisturbed *status quo*, there are most satisfactory and wholesome race relations. But such quiescence may be an indication of immobility and social stagnation. The racial as well as various other social tensions that have followed in the wake of the war are not merely the work of "agitators", but are a symptom of social changes, and these changes in themselves may be interpreted as the incidental effects of profound forces moving towards a new equilibrium.

As might be expected in a time of rapid change, many of these developments are imperfectly understood and regarded as a threat to traditions and customs of central importance. Racial incidents continue to occur, and there is considerable surface display of hostility. Where there is preoccupation with race and relative racial positions in the social system, it is inevitable

that many developments which are essentially non-racial in character will be invested with dangerous racial implications.

### *Entrenched traditions shaken*

Total war and its aftermath have shaken loose many traditions from their deep mooring, whether these traditions were economic, religious, racial, or romantic. The impersonal and direct imperatives of war could not trace a careful path around the embedded orthodoxies of race any more than could a flood or earthquake. When these racial traditions were disturbed, when the comfortable patterns of living were broken or warped, a sense of insecurity inevitably resulted. New guides to behaviour had to be worked out, new situations had to be met and either opposed with violence, or solved by reference to new or at least altered values. The race problem in such situations becomes more personal, and in becoming more personal, it becomes more emotional.

Before the war, it was possible to maintain a set of ideas and attitudes involving race even though these ideas conflicted sharply with another set of ideas centring around the American creed of democracy and equal opportunity. The war crisis, penetrating to deeper levels of thought and action, brought the conflict out into the open. It had a disruptive effect upon many of the familiar situations and institutions in which racial adjustments of a sort had been worked out. It made new demands for manpower, transcending the values of the traditional race system. Even more important, the over-all democratic philosophy of the American war effort brought a new hope of freedom to the minorities and a threat of dissolution to the long entrenched traditions of social and racial dominance.

### *Conflict intensified*

The end of the war intensified rather than allayed the conflict, colouring it with the inevitable fears and insecurities of all post-war periods. Those who had been satisfied with the old patterns or had profited from them were determined to re-establish them. In the South, there was a demand on the part of

some whites for a re-affirmation of the principle of segregation and a new insistence upon the traditional racial etiquette. This demand was highlighted by a post-war epidemic of lynchings and racial violence. In the North there were riots, school strikes, and violence, precipitated largely by the pressure of growing Negro communities against traditional patterns of residence and racial isolation. At the same time the Negro protest against segregation and discrimination stiffened rather than diminished. Having partially escaped the old rigidities during the war, they were determined not to be pressed back again into the confining mould.

The post-war attempt to re-establish pre-war patterns of race relations was only a part of a more generalized pressure for return to pre-war habits in political, social, and economic relationships. The very fact that war-time ideology had pointed up the issue of race as a moral issue involved it in the usual post-war moral let-down. The war-time emphasis on democracy as the foe of fascism and dictatorship gave way at least partially to a new focus of ideological conflict — communism vs. capitalism. In this new conflict racial justice was constantly in danger of being identified with communism, and of bearing its burden of hate and fear.

### *Forces of change*

The forces making for new and more democratic patterns, however, continued strong. Added to the determination of the Negroes themselves and to the support of traditionally friendly elements was a new realization of the importance of democratic treatment of minorities in the international relations of the United States. Underlying all this were the economic and social changes, which, reaching down into the lives of the people, were bringing changes whether they wanted them or not. The war-time acceleration of industrial production uprooted hundreds of thousands of workers, white and Negro, drawing them from relatively isolated and rural areas to the cities and production centres. The demands for manpower pressed against the customary racial occupational categories ; high wages, together with national minimum wage legislation, disturbed another tradition-

al racial differential. Moreover, contrary to expectation in some quarters, the war-time gains of Negroes in employment opportunities, levels of skill, and income, have to a large extent been maintained in the years since the war.

The field of labour continues to be the area of human relations in which the most extensive changes are occurring by virtue of the subordination of racial tastes to common economic and security ends. Here the element of compulsive regulation is self-imposed to insure a collective condition without which no individual condition would be safe.

The specific steps which have been interpreted as threatening to traditional racial patterns have included :

- a. extensions of various types of New Deal legislation in the South with some effort to insist upon equitable distribution of funds or benefits involved ;
- b. campaigns for the broadening of the social security laws (which would affect most directly the southern region in the agricultural and domestic service fields, and marginal workers, both white and Negro) ;
- c. national campaigns for the abolition of the poll tax ;
- d. Federal court decisions virtually compelling the equalization of educational expenditures for whites and Negroes, and more recently seeming to threaten the principle of segregation in education itself ;
- e. Federal court decisions against segregation in interstate transportation, affecting the established patterns of trains, busses, etc., in the southern states ;
- f. Federal court decisions taking away the basis of the white primary, and opening the way for widespread Negro voting in the South ;
- g. Federal court decisions denying the right of a union which has legal power to bargain for all employees to discriminate on the basis of race, creed, or colour ;
- h. legislative efforts to outlaw discrimination in employment, including campaigns for state and national Fair Employment Practice legislation ;

- i. attacks on the principle of racial segregation in residence patterns, through public housing policies in some areas and through court tests of racial restrictive covenants on the ownership and occupancy of residential property.

The last two issues have been the focus of racial tension in northern states. Although Fair Employment Practice legislation has been enacted in several northern states, it met defeat after bitter legislative battles in a number of others ; while residential segregation is less of an issue in the South than in the North, it serves as the basis for other forms of segregation and discrimination.

#### *Racial situation : South and North*

Tension in the southern states in the post-war years has been reflected chiefly in police brutality and mob violence directed against Negroes, and in the continued refusal of southern courts and juries to penalize individuals charged with these and other crimes against Negroes. This behaviour obviously reflected the sentiment which placed an enforcement of racial mores above the impartial enforcement of law, and the feeling that a stand must be taken against changes which were interpreted as a deliberate attack upon established tradition.

The numerous cases of police brutality also seemed to represent, in many instances, a more or less conscious effort to enforce racial etiquette. A number of these incidents involved Negroes in army uniform or Negro veterans, who were thus disabused of any idea that their military service might exempt them from any part of the racial code. It should be recorded, however, that numerous Negroes, some of them in uniform, were also shot or beaten without apparent justification in northern communities ; and in both New York and Chicago there were numerous complaints of police brutality towards Negroes and differential treatment of Negroes and whites.

Other racial incidents in the South during these years involved transportation, where segregation was being threatened by the Supreme Court decision in the Morgan bus case ; voting,

where Court decisions were also threatening the traditional exclusion of Negroes from effective exercise of the ballot, and a variety of other issues such as Negroes moving into a non-Negro residential area. There were very few reports of incidents growing out of new racial contacts in employment, such as had been frequent during the war years. However, there were evidences that employment policies were being used to re-establish some of the racial employment patterns disturbed by war-time conditions. The return of the public employment service functions to the states facilitated this. There were widespread complaints that employment offices in the South were sending Negroes only to certain kinds of jobs, using segregated offices to deny to Negro job seekers the better employment opportunities. On the other hand, both the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. launched post-war organization campaigns in the South, the effect of which was on the whole favourable to solidarity between white and Negro workers. In several cases, union policies were interpreted as an attack upon southern racial traditions, and the C.I.O. was accused by one congressman of "seeking to foment racial feeling and exploit the racial issue throughout the South". This charge, together with "communism" was the favoured line of attack against organizational efforts of labour unions in general.

In the North, the focus of racial tension in the post-war period has centred around the efforts of Negroes to find places to live. Overcrowding resulting from war-time immigration was intensified by the return of veterans and the continued lag in new construction. Because segregation in northern cities is not institutionalized by law but arises as an incidental product of segregation in residence, the struggle for housing in northern communities becomes a struggle over segregation itself. Where the various devices that have restricted Negroes to certain areas begin to break down, Negroes also begin to appear in the schools, the parks, and other public facilities which have previously been used only by whites. Thus conflicts over housing are frequently accompanied by racial incidents in the schools, parks and other places where members of both groups meet.

*Changing patterns in race relations*

In spite of numerous and discouraging incidents, North and South, the balance of the evidence is that the pattern of race relations is changing and that the overwhelming effect of the changes is towards more equal opportunities and fuller participation in the main currents of American life by American Negroes. This evidence can be summarized as follows :

(1) The climate of public opinion is more favourable to the rights of minorities than in the past ; the press, national magazines, and the radio give more attention to the subject, and are more forthright in demanding justice to minority groups. Novels and non-fiction dealing with problems of prejudice command a wide sale.

(2) There has been slow but continuing improvement in educational opportunities for Negroes. Illiteracy has declined from ninety-five per cent at the time of emancipation to ten per cent in 1940. One hundred thousand young Negro Americans were enrolled in colleges in 1947 as compared with only twenty-five hundred in 1900. These educational advances make the maintenance of the old patterns of subordination much more difficult and unlikely.

(3) Occupational diversification among Negroes has progressed rapidly. The proportions in unskilled labour on farms and in cities are declining ; incomes are rising, and the gap between Negro and white income is becoming narrower. The increasing effectiveness of union non-discrimination programs is an important factor not only in protecting the job security of Negroes in industry but in bringing white and Negro workers together in a common effort.

(4) More Negroes are voting in the South today than ever before, and indications are that the Federal courts will continue to protect their right to vote. The exercise of the ballot will undoubtedly result in winning better protection for the civil rights of Negroes in the South and a fairer share of public funds and services. In the North, Negroes in increasing numbers are being elected or appointed to responsible public offices. Many communities are accepting public responsibility for the protec-

tion of the rights and advancement of the opportunities of minority groups through the appointment of official agencies to implement this responsibility.

(5) The pattern of segregation in churches, schools, recreation, and housing, which at one time seemed to be becoming more rigid and complete, is beginning to be broken up in many areas. Both Catholic and Protestant churches are recognizing the incompatibility of segregation with the brotherhood of man, and in many places have gone beyond pronouncements to action towards ending segregation in churches and church-supported institutions. In North and West, more white and Negro students are going to school together in schools and colleges than ever before. Schools all over the country are recognizing their responsibility for not only teaching but acting on democratic principles. In the world of sports, the admission of Negro ball players to the major leagues was a symbol that caught the attention of millions of Americans, and the firm support given to Jackie Robinson by Branch Rickey, President of the National League, commanded nation-wide interest and approval. Negro and white tenants living side by side in three hundred and twenty-five public housing projects are demonstrating that an inter-racial pattern of residence can work well. On the legitimate stage, Negroes and whites are appearing together in varied and unstereotyped roles, and the Actor's Equity Association has thrown itself into the struggle to end the policy of excluding Negroes from the only legitimate theatre in the District of Columbia. In the armed services, there has been some progress towards modifying segregation.

There are many conspicuous gaps in the process of domestic readjustments within our democratic framework.

(1) Despite the favourable Supreme Court decisions in the three recent cases, involving educational equality at the graduate and professional level, and discriminatory treatment in railway dining cars, the Court at the same time refused to review an equally significant case which maintained enforced racial segregation in all other than public housing. This means that individuals are still free to discriminate racially in any manner they choose. Already twenty-five states have adopted

programs of urban redevelopment under private capital and have the right to eminent domain — the right to condemn property and use it. The minorities find themselves faced with the problem of increased slums and unrestricted segregation wherever these developments occur. In several large cities, despite the addition of thousands of new housing units, the minorities have benefited in a very small degree.

(2) Civil rights legislation, while at present enforceable in a number of northern and western cities, is little known and completely unenforced outside these cities.

(3) Where juries may act on matters involving violation of statutes only, it is possible to get convictions for violation of offences ; where the element of personal convictions and principles or policies is added, it is very difficult to get deterring convictions from juries.

(4) It is being discovered now that the decision is not the most important consideration in the mind of the Court, but what would happen after a decision. The problem of civil rights has become increasingly a sociological one after the legal process. The persons most likely to be offended are those least able to carry cases to court.

(5) The next logical court test on segregation will probably be on the secondary and elementary level. This will be vastly more difficult and filled with more impracticalities than any of the previous situations and the lawyers, who are very much aware of the sociological effects of legal constraints, do not yet have the full answer to a sudden and immediate challenge.

(6) The American Indians, numbering over four hundred thousand, live in a dirty and neglected pocket of American life. They are, in the present day sense, the original displaced persons. A new leadership is slowly emerging and, borrowing from the tactics of less protected minorities, is trying to disturb the rather limited outlook of the Indian Bureau. The new objective appears to be controlled but determined re-establishment outside the reservations and with full citizenship rights.

(7) The Mexican migrants, under present conditions, occupy a lower social and cultural status than the Negroes in the West

and Southwest. This status is perpetuated by the rigid isolation fostered by their low economic status and limited formal education.

Changes are acting continuously to affect the patterns of race relations in the whole country, North and South. While the governors of the southern states are proclaiming that they will brook no federal interference in their traditional arrangements, these arrangements are changing under their very eyes. Wise statesmanship can reduce the friction incident to change, but it can hardly prevent the changes from taking place.

# Colour Prejudice in England

ANTHONY RICHMOND

## *The "colour problem"*

It is widely assumed, both here and in other countries, that "there is no 'colour problem' in England". It is true that problems of racial relations in England do not assume the same serious and national proportions that they do, for example, in South Africa or the United States of America. This is not, however, due to any special aspect of English national character which creates greater tolerance or absence of prejudice. It is rather that there are in England, relatively speaking, so few people of non-European origin that the status and circumstances of coloured people in English society rarely become questions of national concern. In fact there are many people in England who have never met a coloured person and have never even given a thought to what their reaction would be if they did. Much of the prejudice which is experienced by coloured people in this country is the result of plain ignorance on the part of white people ; ideas about Negroes, Chinese and other coloured peoples have been derived from fantastic nursery rhymes such as "ten little nigger boys" and school text-books of geography which are frequently out of date if not grossly mis-representative in their descriptions of life in other so-called "primitive" countries.<sup>1</sup>

The lack of contact and communication between coloured and white people in England is enhanced by the fact that until very recently the small coloured population was confined almost entirely to small, relatively isolated, communities in the seaport towns of Cardiff, Liverpool, London and Hull, in that order of magnitude. Changes have taken place since the end of World War II, when the coloured population of Liverpool increased

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of this question see : *Race Relations and the Schools*. League of Coloured Peoples, London.

considerably in size and Colonial people in England began to seek work in a number of the industrial towns in the Midlands and elsewhere. There was also a large increase in the number of Colonial students in England attending universities and technical schools in cities throughout the country. The surprise that is often expressed by English people on meeting, for the first time, an educated and cultured coloured person is indicative of the ignorance of the average Englishman about the Colonies and their inhabitants.

### *The coloured population*

It is not possible to obtain accurate figures regarding the number of coloured persons resident in England, owing largely to the fact that the majority of them are British subjects, either Colonial or English born. Unlike aliens, British coloured persons in England are not required to register with the police, nor is any special record kept by the national census as is the case in the U.S.A. It is therefore extremely difficult to estimate the actual size of the coloured population and any figures must be accepted with reservation. Dr. Little estimated the pre-war coloured population of Cardiff<sup>1</sup> at 6,000. It is believed that the size of the coloured community in Cardiff may have decreased in recent years. In contrast the coloured population of Liverpool has considerably increased. In addition to a number of East Indians and Malays there are probably about 1,000 Chinese and persons of Chinese descent in the city. The majority of the coloured people of Liverpool are Africans or of African descent. It is believed that there are about 500 Somalis and other East Africans, together with about 2,000 from the West Coast and other parts of Africa. There are also approximately 500 West Indians, who are descendants of the slaves taken from Africa, some of them via Liverpool, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The remaining 3,000 persons of African descent were born in Liverpool mainly of Negro fathers and white mothers. (There is no bar to inter-racial marriage in England although such marriages do carry in the minds of some people a stigma which is strongly resented by coloured people.)

<sup>1</sup> LITTLE, K., *Negroes in Britain*, Kegan Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 86, 1948.

### *Housing and schools*

Although the coloured populations in English cities usually reside in a particular quarter of the town, there is no absolute segregation. In Cardiff's "Tiger Bay", London's "Limehouse" and Liverpool's "South End" coloured and white people live along side each other in the same street. Their children go to the same schools and mix together quite freely. In a study carried out by the University Department of Social Science at Liverpool<sup>1</sup> it was shown that coloured and white children in schools do not discriminate against each other in their choice of friends ; nevertheless both white and coloured children are sensitive to class differences which appear to cut across racial boundaries. In one Liverpool school boys of African descent have twice been chosen as Head Boy and coloured children appear to do as well at school as any of their white neighbours ; that few coloured children in Liverpool rise to places in higher education is a reflection of the relatively poor circumstances which their families share with the majority of children in the neighbourhood, rather than to any racial factor.

Although there is no segregation, housing does nevertheless present one of the most serious difficulties to a coloured person in England. Landlords appear reluctant to let accommodation to coloured people, and if they do so often demand a higher rent. Caradog Jones<sup>2</sup> in his study in Liverpool in 1938 found that, on the average, coloured families were paying higher rent for poorer accommodation than white people in equivalent occupations. During the war many of the houses in the area which had been occupied by the coloured population in Liverpool, as in other cities, were destroyed by bombing and this led to the gradual spreading of the coloured population over a somewhat wider area. This in its turn led to a fall in property values as a result of this "deterioration" in the social status of the district. Colonials coming to England complain bitterly of

<sup>1</sup> SILBERMAN, L. & SPICE, B., *Colour and Class in Six Liverpool Schools*, University of Liverpool Press, 1950.

<sup>2</sup> JONES, D. CARADOG, *Economic Status of Coloured People in the Port of Liverpool*. Association for Welfare of Coloured People, 1940.

the difficulty of finding suitable lodgings and of the prejudice against them expressed by householders and landlords. In many cases a person will say that although they themselves would have no objection they are afraid of what their husbands (or wives) will think, or of what the neighbours will say. This situation reflects the existence of "stereotyped" impressions about the status and behaviour of coloured people which are widely held in England. The idea that coloured people are uneducated in European ways of life, dishonest, promiscuous in sexual relations and in one way or another "different" from white people, once having arisen is difficult to remove. Nor is any attempt to show otherwise on the part of responsible and well-adjusted coloured people made any easier by the sensational approach of the press which is always inclined to give publicity to any example of a misdemeanour perpetrated by a coloured person. In the circumstances it is not surprising that householders, who have no reason for disbelieving the widespread "stereotype", are reluctant to run the risk of letting their rooms to coloured people.

#### *Discrimination in employment*

It is when children leave school and begin to enter into competition for employment that colour prejudice begins to become apparent to them. Before the Second World War the Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Coloured People had great difficulty in obtaining employment for coloured juveniles and special efforts were made through the Juvenile Employment Bureau to place them, with only a limited degree of success. With adults too there seems to be definite evidence to support the view that unemployment among the coloured people of Liverpool during the depression of the inter-war years, was even greater than that experienced by the rest of the population : and Liverpool was one of the most seriously "depressed areas". In the present day, whilst it is impossible to give any quantitative estimates of the degree and extent of discrimination against coloured persons in industry and shipping, there is no doubt that discrimination does occur. The rates of unemployment among Negroes in Liverpool since the war have been higher

than the average for the population.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, eighty per cent of the coloured population is regularly employed at the present day. Some are skilled tradesmen from the West Indies who came to this country during the war to work in the war factories. Many have stayed on in England since the war owing to the widespread unemployment at home. Others are seamen who served all through the war in the Merchant Navy. Others served in His Majesty's Forces and have stayed in England in search of better prospects of work than exist in the Colonies today. Liverpool presents a serious problem in this respect because it is to this city that coloured people from the Colonies tend to drift, since they often have friends and acquaintances who will be able to offer them accommodation and companionship. Yet Liverpool is one of the few cities in the country that still has a serious unemployment problem, which is aggravated by this drift of Colonials from West Africa and West Indies. Every effort is made by the Ministry of Labour and the Colonial Office to encourage Colonials to seek work in other parts of the country where labour is scarce. But the problem of finding suitable accommodation immediately presents itself; nevertheless small communities of Colonials are growing up in a number of industrial towns; some have found employment in the mines.

### *Colour bar in England*

Although there is prejudice and discrimination in housing and employment there is no rigid colour bar in England as there is in South Africa or parts of the U.S.A. The law in England is designed to protect the citizen against all forms of open discrimination and although slights and insults may sometimes be experienced by coloured persons wishing to use public places such as hotels, cinemas, dance halls, restaurants etc., it is extremely difficult for such places to practise even a tacit colour bar. This is particularly true since the publicity that was given to the case of a well-known West Indian Negro cricketer in government service, during the war, who was

<sup>1</sup> RICHMOND, A. H., "Economic Insecurity and Stereotypes as Factors in Colour Prejudice", *Sociological Review*, Vol. XLII, No. 8, 1950.

refused accommodation at a large London hotel. The accommodation had been booked in advance, but when the management realized that the person in question and his wife were Negroes, alternative accommodation was offered at another hotel on the grounds that other guests at the hotel (many of them Americans) would object to a coloured person staying there. The case was taken to court and awarded in favour of the West Indian plaintiff. Nominal damages were claimed and awarded.

Nevertheless, it is true to say that during the war there were attempts to bar certain dance halls and restaurants to coloured people. This was largely as a result of clashes that were occurring largely between American white troops and British civilian Negroes in dance halls. American white men objected to seeing Negroes dancing with white girls and brawls would sometimes ensue. The result tended to have drastic effects upon the receipts of the dance hall once a reputation for this kind of incident became known. In consequence some places did impose a temporary ban on coloured persons. In Liverpool one West Indian war-worker was refused admission to a dance hall ; he returned later in his Home Guard uniform and was again refused admission. As a result he claimed that his uniform had been insulted and in protest refused to do further Home Guard duty. He was prosecuted for this offence and a fine imposed. On appeal the verdict was sustained as he had committed a technical offence ; but the fine was reduced to a farthing and a strongly worded speech was made by the Recorder of Liverpool about any form of discrimination against coloured persons. As a result of this, and negotiations by the Colonial Office and prominent citizens of Liverpool, the ban was relaxed by almost all dance halls, etc., that had previously applied a colour bar.

#### *Coloured students in England*

There are between three and four thousand coloured Colonial students at present at universities, technical colleges and other places of higher education in England, including a number of nurses in training. They are scattered throughout the country

and are accepted freely at all schools and colleges subject to the usual educational qualifications being obtained. A number pay their own way but an increasing number of scholarships are being offered by Colonial governments to give higher education and technical training. Until recently the Colonial Office has been responsible for the supervision of such students in this country, but last year the British Council was invited to become responsible for the welfare of coloured students in England, while administration and the placing of students remained in the hands of the Colonial Office.

A number of hostels have been provided in London for Colonial students, but this has led to a good deal of criticism on the grounds that the grouping together of Colonial students is a bad thing and that they should be encouraged to mix more with other students. It has therefore been suggested that a better arrangement would be to turn the present Colonial Office hostels over to the universities for their general use, on condition that a number of places be reserved in all university hostels for Colonial students. The problem of housing Colonial students is aggravated by the reluctance of landladies to accept coloured persons whether students or otherwise. Dr. Little<sup>1</sup> investigated a random sample of 700 private families, guest houses and lodging houses accepting students and found that more than forty per cent expressly stated that they were not prepared to board coloured students. He suggested that this is probably an underestimate of the actual figure. It is the bitter experience of coloured students in search of lodgings which often starts them upon a chain of resentment and disillusionment about England, which is sometimes expressed in a radical nationalism and anti-British sentiment. There is very little in the allegation, often made, that Colonial students in England are an easy prey to communist propaganda ; but there is no doubt that the Communist Party does appear to practise what it preaches with respect to complete lack of colour prejudice, and it is not surprising if coloured students are led to flirt with this philosophy as a reaction against what they feel to be English snobbery and anti-Colonial feeling.

<sup>1</sup> LITTLE, Appendix I, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

To present a fair picture of the case it must be mentioned that coloured students are sometimes themselves unreasonable in their expectations and some do not adjust well to conditions of life in England. The East and West Friendship Council does valuable work in introducing Colonial, Dominion and other overseas students to English families who are pleased to act as hosts at week-ends and for short holidays, etc. The experience of the Council has shown that some students take advantage of these offers and do not behave in a way which encourages hosts to repeat the experiment. This is often a result of a mutual ignorance of customs and habits; but wealthy Colonial students, used to servants, etc., find it difficult to understand that they are not expected to treat their English hosts and hostesses as if they too were servants! It is easy to exaggerate the extent to which this kind of unfortunate behaviour occurs; but it has been sufficiently serious for the Liverpool Committee of the East and West Friendship Council to devise an elementary guide to overseas visitors upon English customs and habits.

### *The British dilemma*

Myrdal<sup>1</sup> in his classic and encyclopaedic study of racial relations in America has drawn attention to the divergence between the theory and practice of coloured-white relations. The American ideal of equality embedded in the Constitution sustained by the Christian humanist ideal is accepted by American citizens, who flagrantly support a social system which actively denies Negroes equal rights. English people too are faced with a similar dilemma, only in their case it is in relation to their responsibilities as a Colonial power. Britain maintains that its policy is the progressive raising of social and economic standards in the Colonies so that the Colonial peoples may eventually (and in some cases soon) assume full responsibility and self-government. The equal rights of Colonial-born peoples as British citizens is actively claimed and sustained by the law. Yet when Colonial peoples come to England as students, or in search of work, which owing to the present economic conditions

<sup>1</sup> MYRDAL, GUNNAR, *An American Dilemma* (2 vols.), Harper, New York, 1940.

in the Colonies they cannot find at home, they receive a polite but firm rebuff. Some Colonials will even maintain that the open colour bar of the United States is preferable to the uncertainty of the English situation. At least in most parts in America "you know where you stand". You avoid going to the places where you are not wanted. But England writes "welcome" on the mat and then politely shows you out by the back door. Or so it seems to many Colonials.

### *Church and the colour problem in England*

Churches of all denominations in England support the ideal of racial equality and denounce examples of discrimination when they are brought to their notice. It must be remembered, as pointed out earlier, that the majority of English people just have no contact with coloured people, and therefore the issue rarely becomes an immediate and real one to them. When it does they sometimes question the ideal. Discomfort is sometimes felt if communion is celebrated by a Negro. A Negro curate is regarded as something of an oddity and not always completely accepted. Sincere Christians often have severe doubts about mixed marriages and find it difficult to remove the feeling, however irrational they may recognize it to be, that the girl in question is somehow being "immoral". "Separate but equal" facilities often has its appeal as a suitable compromise between what for some people the head knows to be right and what the stomach feels to be wrong. Colonials in England cite cases of ministers of religion telling the young women in the congregation that they will be committing a deadly sin if they are seen in company with a coloured person. A white girl bringing her coloured baby to church to be baptised may be asked, "Why couldn't you find a man from one of your own people?" These apparently small incidents grow in the mind of coloured people together with the conviction that the churches have let them down.

When you ask a Colonial who was a regular churchgoer at home (as most of them were), why he no longer goes to church in England, there are several replies he may make. He may be bitter and say the church in the Colonies taught him that all

men were equal and that England was a Christian country : now he knows better. Or he may say that when he goes to church in England people treat him like a prize dog at a show : they fall over backwards to show how "unprejudiced" they are and in the process make their sense of "difference" all the more obvious. But the most usual reason, sometimes unexpressed, is that in England so few people in fact attend church that coloured people feel strange and awkward if they go themselves : so they accept the norms and customs of the society they are trying to become a part of — and stop going to church.

# The White Australia Policy

BRUCE MANSFIELD

## *History of the policy*

Until the rise of the new nation states in Asia, the White Australia policy was an unquestioned dogma for the majority of Australians. Uncritical assumptions about the supremacy of Western (and "white") civilizations have only recently been challenged in the Commonwealth. A brief review of the history of the White Australia policy is necessary for an understanding of its basic position in Australian national thought.

By the 'thirties of the nineteenth century the pastoral industry had become the economic foundation of the Australian colonies. The wool-growers, or squatters, were faced with a labour problem when the transportation of convicts to New South Wales ceased in 1840. They proposed to introduce coolie labour from the Far East, and by 1850 coolies were entering the colonies in growing numbers.

In the 'fifties, the nature of Asian immigration changed when the gold rushes attracted Chinese immigrants, not as indentured coolies, but as free immigrants. There was trouble between Asian and white miners on the gold fields (aggravated by the tendency of the two races to keep to their separate communities). Three colonies, New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, passed temporary legislation to halt the inflow of immigrants from Asia, but this legislation lapsed at the end of the gold rush period. In 1875, however, a new gold rush occurred in Queensland, and the Colonial government passed an Immigration Restriction Act to bar the Chinese immigrants. By 1888, every colony had passed new restrictive legislation of some sort. The demand for such legislation came from most classes of the community, but the most insistent clamour was made by the growing working-class movement. As one Australian historian has put it: "The Australian workers felt that only the vested

interests were fighting for coolies, and it is true that in each colony, the main support for such schemes came from the Legislative Council, the Upper Houses.”<sup>1</sup>

The situation was complicated by international trends in the 'eighties. In 1888 the Chinese government protested to the British government about the Restriction Acts. Great Britain (who was responsible for the foreign relations of the whole Empire) had expressed doubts about the restrictive legislation from the beginning, because she was fearful of complicating her delicate political and commercial relations with China, Japan and the Indian princes. The Chinese protest evoked an hysterical outburst in the Australian colonies which led to the calling of an inter-colonial conference and the framing of more severe restrictive legislation. (Living in a frontier situation, the Australian colonists were easily swayed by emotion in racial matters, and this emotionalism has coloured attitudes towards Asia until the present day.) From 1888 until 1900, the desire for a single policy of Asian exclusion was one of the most powerful factors leading to the federation of the Australian colonies and the foundation of the Commonwealth.

#### *Commonwealth Immigration Restriction Act*

By 1901, all political parties and sections of the community, with the exception of a few intransigent capitalists or pastoralists, supported the conception of White Australia. The first Commonwealth parliament met in 1901, and one of its first acts was to pass an Immigration Restriction Act which has stood (with minor amendments) to the present day. In the preceding election campaign, politicians outdid one another in their expressions of devotion to the cause of Asian exclusion, and there is no doubt that the policy had almost universal popular support.

The British government had reiterated its opposition to the passing of an act which might offend in the Far East. Great Britain was emerging from her period of “splendid isolation”, and was striving to win Japan as a Pacific ally against Imperial Russia. British needs were responsible for the curious and

<sup>1</sup> S. H. ROBERTS, *Australia and the Far East*, p. 8.

seemingly "hypocritical" wording of the Restriction Act. At British insistence, no mention was made in the act of exclusion on the grounds of colour, race, or origin. A prohibited immigrant was simply declared to be anyone who could not satisfactorily pass a prescribed dictation test in a European language. It was clearly understood that the officer administering the test would choose a language unknown to any person whom the government wished to exclude. An Asian was such a person. The Labour Party bitterly attacked this subterfuge and demanded that direct exclusion on grounds of origin be written into the act, but the ministry defended the "dictation test" as the most expedient way of accomplishing the desired end. The British government was satisfied, and although Japan made tentative protests, she was silenced by British assurances and by an amendment to the Act (1905) by which tourists, merchants and students from India and Japan were to be granted permits for temporary residence in Australia.

#### *Basis of support for Restriction Act*

An analysis of the debates on the Restriction Act in the Federal parliament is most instructive. The Labour Party was united in the policy of absolute exclusion, and as a political force was now powerful enough to have its social legislation written into the statute book, even by conservative governments. While its grounds were not exclusively economic, it desired to protect and raise the "standard of living" and the "fair and reasonable" wage which have become the accepted ends of all Australian social policy. Labour felt that Asian immigrants were hard and frugal workers, who might not share its aspirations for an eight-hour day and other industrial amenities, and it was supported by craftsmen and store-keepers who resented the pressure of competition from Asians already resident in Australia. They believed that the supporters of Asian immigration had always been the squatters and capitalists, who wanted to use indentured labour as a weapon to batten down wage levels and living standards. It is true that one of the few voices raised in opposition to the policy after 1901 was that of the Employers' Federation at its 1905 conference. In the

northern state of Queensland, a fierce social struggle was waged between labour and the sugar interests who desired to continue to work the sugar plantations with indentured labourers from the Pacific islands.

Most sections of the middle classes supported Labour's demand for a protected living standard. But the general support for White Australia rested on broader grounds. The Australian statesmen who framed the policy — men like Deakin, Barton and Kingston — did not, I think, begin from the premise of white "superiority". They began with the assumption that cultures could not mix, that Australian culture was distinct from Asian culture, and an attempt to intermingle the two would lead to disaster. It was felt that an inflow of Asians would destroy the distinctive quality of Australian social institutions. That there was among the lesser politicians a coarse assertion of racial superiority is testified by the press of the time, but among more responsible leaders such expressions were avoided, and often deliberately denied. At the back of the policy was the fear of becoming embroiled with the Far East, the fear that immigrants would demand extra-territorial rights. It was this sort of embroilment which Australian external policy was bent on avoiding.

The Immigration Restriction Act was not passed in a panic. The number of Asians in Australia was not large, and there was no immediate danger of a new influx. The act was the deliberate expression of a settled policy, and from 1901 the policy became the fixed assumption in Australian life. To question it was a form of sacrilege. Certainly not all Australians were aware that the complete implementation of the policy rested on the supremacy of the British navy, and originally on the British *entente* with Japan. Australia's own military forces were small. Nor were European immigrants attracted in appreciable numbers to the Commonwealth. The policy went unchallenged until 1919, because of Australia's fortunate position within the British framework.

The first serious challenge to the policy was made at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. The Japanese delegation proposed that a clause asserting racial equality be written into the Covenant of the League of Nations. W. M. Hughes, the

Australian delegate, was willing to accept the proposal, provided that an undertaking was given that the clause made no reference to immigration, but the Japanese refused. In the Commission on the Covenant, Japan won a majority, but President Wilson said that unanimity was required, and the clause was dropped.

From 1919 to 1939, Australians watched the rise of the Japanese Empire with apprehension, but the general faith in British sea power was unshaken. The White Australia policy continued unquestioned. The fall of Singapore in 1942 altered Australia's whole conception of her place and policy in the Pacific and the Far East, and the present uncertainties in her policies towards Asia stem partly from attempts to measure up an old policy to a completely new situation.

### *The present position*

Even at the present time, however, discussion of the policy is only sporadic. It is intense only when an administration, with the object of enforcing the policy without exceptions, commits some harsh or blatantly unjust action. Australians are, in fact, more concerned about communism in Asia than about the implications of their own immigration policy.

Of the political parties, the Labour Party is caught in two minds. Australian labour has very strong traditions in the White Australia policy, and the revision of the policy is still viewed by some labour stalwarts as a threat to living standards and wage levels. Actually there is no Australian pastoralist or industrialist who would dream today of encouraging labour from Asia in order to beat down wage levels. This seems to be borne out by the attitude of the Communist Party. Australian foreign policy towards Asia when Labour was in power (1941-1949) appeared contradictory, in that it stood by the White Australia policy regardless of the offence it gave, and simultaneously wooed the friendship of Asia by the dispatch of goodwill missions and other means. The attitude of Dr. H. V. Evatt, who directed and dominated Labour foreign policy, seemed to be that White Australia would be accepted in Asia if it were satisfactorily explained, and if the Commonwealth stood by the Asians in their struggle for national freedom. Meanwhile, the

government brought out annually large numbers of European and British migrants in an attempt to build up the European population of the Commonwealth. This policy of large-scale European and British immigration is accepted by all the major political parties, although it would seem that it raises problems of social and cultural assimilation as well as material difficulties in matters such as housing.

The non-Labour and present government parties (the Liberal and Country Parties), like Labour, accept the White Australia policy and have made no attempt to tamper with it. They know what political ammunition they would present to the Labour opposition if they did. Traditionally, the non-Labour parties, while accepting the economic basis of the policy, have stressed its cultural aspect. This rationale of the policy would go something like this : "We do not mean any offence to Asia. We are saying only that Australians and Asians are different from one another. An influx of people from Asia would benefit neither party, and would lead to the terrible state of affairs in which races struggle for mastery." Although the non-Labour parties, when they were in opposition, were critical of Labour's wooing of the new nations in Asia, in office they have revealed themselves to be sympathetic to Asian nationalism, while retaining their hostility to communism, Asian or otherwise. The view in Australian political circles would seem to be that, although Asian nationalism requires Australia to apply her immigration policy with tact, it has not called in question the policy itself.

The Communist Party, in Australia a small minority but one which, through its militancy, has been able to take control of several important trade unions, has declared its opposition to the White Australia policy and its solidarity with the working class of Asia. The party is, of course, sensitive to the dictates of Moscow, and constancy in its policy is not to be expected. Its popular influence in such matters as White Australia is negligible.

#### *The attitude of the churches*

What of the Christian churches ? Their active interest in the question was aroused in 1947 and 1948, when Mr. Arthur Calwell, Labour Minister for Immigration, took steps to deport

Malayan seamen who had found refuge in Australia during the war, and had subsequently married Australians and settled down. Other nationalities were subsequently involved in similar proceedings, and numerous protests were made by the churches against these deportations. The Australian Council for the World Council of Churches, for example, protested on the grounds of inhumanity, but the administration passed over its protests. The deportations were actually carried out, except in cases where the courts, because of loopholes in the act, prevented them. Such loopholes were subsequently closed up by parliament. Mr. Calwell's defence of this harsh thoroughness was that the policy must be strictly enforced, or abandoned altogether. The churches' reply, with which the parliamentary opposition seemed to agree, was that in such cases exception could be made without undermining existing policy.

However, the churches did not stop there. The Council for the World Council went on to criticize the policy itself in the light of the Christian teaching about race, and to suggest a small annual quota of immigrants from Asia. This policy has also been advocated by Professor A. P. Elkin, professor of anthropology in the University of Sydney, and by the National Missionary Council of Australia. It seems to have been taken up widely in the churches.

It is argued by the advocates of the scheme that a quota system would serve to destroy racial prejudices, and assure Asia of the Commonwealth's good intentions, without thrusting upon our population of eight millions an impossible task of cultural assimilation. Any such quota would be necessarily rigidly selective and very small, and would, in fact, be primarily a token of goodwill. It is not easy to estimate how widespread would be the support for such a scheme. It would probably be viewed with suspicion and, because of the unsavoury history of past "coloured" immigration schemes into Australia, dubbed the fruit of self-interest or sentimentality. Racial prejudices in Australia have been partly the result of ignorance, and the first need is for widespread popular education. The coming of Asian students, diplomats, scientists and sportsmen has served to enlighten Australians. Another source of prejudice is a fear of Asia's vast numbers in face of Australia's small population.

The appearance of new nations in Asia, while it has encouraged the Australian to look upon the Asian as an equal, has sometimes increased his fears. Thus, every step towards political stability in Asia serves to break down barriers between Asia and Australia. Professor Elkin is of the opinion that there is a large minority in Australia favourable to an amendment of the policy along the lines of a quota system. Christian opinion, as we have seen, is moving in that direction.

### *A personal judgment*

It is necessary to separate the problem of weeding out of prejudices from that of immigration policy. There are Australians without racial prejudice who support the present policy on economic or cultural grounds. Pandit Nehru has been reported as saying that White Australia is acceptable to India as an economic policy, but most unacceptable as a racial policy. This interpretation of the policy is now not uncommon among thinking Australians. Thus, the policy could become an immigration policy, designed to protect the national economy from a heavy influx of unsuitable types of labour. A small quota of suitable types of labour or enterprise from Asia would seem to be the natural corollary to this interpretation. If the policy is defined afresh in these terms, the nations of Asia must, I believe, accept the Australian view that immigration policy is a matter of domestic legislation, and not one of international concern. This view, which Australian statesmen have pressed consistently in recent years, cannot be accepted without such a re-definition. Australia has been claiming that the policy is a matter of domestic legislation, but explaining and enforcing it in such an ambiguous way as to raise a suspicion that its intent is racial and its implications of international concern. All nations (including those of Asia) justifiably claim the right to limit or control immigration in accordance with their powers of economic, cultural or social assimilation. Australia must so alter the policy as to make it clear that neither "race" nor "colour", but the powers of assimilation, tested experimentally over a period of time, are the criteria of such limitation or control.

Some Asian critics of White Australia overestimate the absorptive capacity of the Commonwealth. Pandit Nehru has implied that Indians could make something of those parts of Australia in which Australian enterprise has failed. It should be made clear that most of Australia is desert, that no humans, whatever their skill and endurance could, according to present indications, do anything with the desert territory. The point basic to all discussion of White Australia is that the country cannot accept an unlimited number of immigrants. Even if her doors were thrown wide open, she could do little to solve the problems of over-population and low living standards in Asia. She will make a more positive contribution by increasing her trade with Asia and assisting that continent in its tremendous tasks of development and industrialization.

In the meantime, Christians and others have seen the need to have the policy so revised as to free it from all trace of racial distinction, and to make it compatible with a realistic assessment of the situation in Asia. Two reforms are possible. One is relaxation of restriction along the lines of the quota system. The other is the abandonment of the dictation test, the subterfuge instituted in 1901 as a diplomatic expedient. Australia could now enter into mutual agreements with Asian powers on immigration. Such arrangements were made with Southern European countries in 1925, and immigration from these countries has been satisfactorily regulated. Whatever happens, the ugly misnomer, "White Australia", must be dropped, and a title more appropriate to the situation applied to a policy which must be no more and no less than a policy of immigration regulation.

# The Danger of European Self-righteousness in Connection with the Race Problem

FRANZ VON HAMMERSTEIN

## *God's righteousness and our self-righteousness*

The foundation of our hope is the fact that our God is a God of righteousness and not of self-righteousness. And he is a God of righteousness not just for the sake of righteousness, but for the salvation of man. His righteousness and with it all human justice should serve charity, mercy and compassion. As long as we think of God as a judge, we will proclaim a justice of recompense; as soon, however, as we think of God as love, as *agape*, we will have justice serving mercy.

Self-righteousness is often a difficult problem to deal with because we inherited it not only in general, but also in its specific forms from our fathers. We have to become conscious of this heritage. Faith in the God of righteousness has to include the will to study and recognize where we are standing in history and society, as we will presently show. Further, it has to include the will to forgive and to be forgiven, where prejudices or selfish actions are recognized and repented. Jesus Christ died for us in order to make such a forgiveness possible.

## *What is race? A reality? A myth?*

Before we consider some of the dangers of self-righteousness in detail, let us define the term race, as it is used in this paper. When German students talk of race, they are easily tempted to think of the Nordic race as distinguished from all other European and non-European races and superior to them, superior especially to the so-called Semitic race. When North Americans are speaking of races, they probably think primarily of the Negroes

as distinguished from the whites, who are superior both to the Negroes and to the yellow race. Yet when you ask somebody to give a clear definition of the term "race", in which all kinds of people living anywhere in this world are taken into account, he will have difficulties. The number of differences in the colour of skin, in the type of hair, in the forms of head and body are very great and very much mingled with each other. Therefore, every definition and classification is only an attempt at simplifying the reality. This at least seems to be evident : the term "race" only includes various kinds of hereditary, biological differences. Yet, are the other differences between people, the differences of language, of character, of gifts, of religion, and so on, dependent on those biological differences or not ? Are Negroes by nature stupid or lazy ? Are whites by nature creative, just, and intelligent ? Surely, they are not. There are, however, many facts other than hereditary, biological ones shaping a person or a people during their life : economic, sociological, cultural, religious and other facts which may be summarized as historical powers over against the biological powers. These historical powers probably are to a high degree, or even totally, independent of the biological ones. If the physical characteristics of human groups are related to their cultural capability, we have no genuine knowledge *how* they are related.

In dealing with various problems of European self-righteousness it is therefore necessary to keep in mind that in many of the so-called race problems racial factors constitute the smallest part of the difficulty. The race myth has too often been used for all kinds of ends : Hitler and his followers discriminated against the Jews pretending that they belonged to a lower race. Many Americans discriminate against Negroes pretending that they belong to an inferior race. We also find this kind of discrimination in the other continents.

*Are there inferior or superior races, peoples or nations ?*

Is it possible to speak of superior and inferior races ? Is it allowed to make judgments as to value on the basis of biological differences ? Certainly it is not. However, even on the basis of economic, sociological, cultural or religious differences, we should

be very careful in making value judgments which claim to be true once and for all. Such values are often very relative. We seldom question the value of our European civilization, but everybody who has lived for a longer time in a totally different civilization knows how questionable it is. Many Arabs or people from India will testify to this, though the majority of the Indian people may be thinking just as self-righteously of their civilization as we are of ours.

Connected with this problem of inferiority and superiority is the question of inter-marriage. This is important because love happens where people of different races meet one another as persons of equal value. If we condemn such miscegenation instinctively, we should be aware of the fact that there is no inherent superiority or inferiority ; such instinctive feelings are often imposed on us by education and tradition. I had an instinctive aversion for Negroes myself, but I have lost it totally after having lived for some months with coloured students, who finally were as close to me as any German friends could be. Therefore, laws against inter-marriage are always dangerous. From the Christian point of view, we could argue that many people have the instinct to steal and yet there are laws against stealing. However, it is God who says we should not steal, while he does not say : keep your race clean. Thus instincts can be right and wrong. There are instincts verified by the Word of God, then they are right ; there are instincts rejected by the Word of God, then they are wrong. And surely there are instincts that can neither be verified nor rejected by God's Word ; then I would say, they are questionable at least.

In Europe we have to get used to the fact that a nation may be the home of different races and different people. In the U.S.A. you find Negroes and whites constituting one people. This one people arose during the last century from various peoples : European as well as African and Asian people have come together and now they constitute one nation and one people. Why should not the same happen in Europe ? Perhaps the solution for many European problems should be found in this direction. We have to give up our self-righteousness and with it many prejudices. The myth of the superiority of races, nations or peoples has to be forgotten.

We may be proud of our European culture and love it wholeheartedly<sup>1</sup>. At the same time, however, we should not forget that it is not *we* who created our culture, but we rather destroyed it. It may not be within our capability to revive it or preserve the remainders. We should become very modest in this respect. The rise and fall of cultures follow mysterious laws. And the white race is by no means the only one which was able to create a high culture.

### *Which are the specific dangers of self-righteousness?*

Now we will turn and look at some specific dangers of self-righteousness. When we think of dangers in Germany, the first one coming into my mind is the danger of Bolshevism. We are just beginning to find out that we are self-righteous even in regard to it as well as to its fathers, Marxism and Communism. It is a self-righteousness not based on racial feelings<sup>2</sup>.

Another danger of which many Germans will immediately think is nationalism, because it is the greatest hindrance to European unity. It is based partly on racial, partly on economic, cultural and other feelings and facts. Self-righteousness and mere selfishness are closely connected in it. It is selfish to fear economic disadvantages in case the now existing national borders were lifted up. Racial factors come in, if we think of Poland and Czechoslovakia as the beginning of Asia, as many people do, or if we distinguish various white races (this is very seldom done in the U.S.A.), giving one preference to the others. This has been done by Gobineau, H. S. Chamberlain and others in a most unscientific way. Yet, it became a general practice in Europe after 1870 and was brought to perfection by Hitler. This Nordic, Teutonic, Celtic or Anglo-Saxon racial pride still is

<sup>1</sup> One of the best examples of such acceptable pride is an address given by the Jewish professor, Hans Joachim Schoeps, who was expelled from Germany and returned after 1945. He spoke to German students on "The Honour of Prussia" (Stuttgart, 1951).

<sup>2</sup> Anyone interested in this kind of self-righteousness may read the article of Helmut Gollwitzer on "Christianity and Marxism", *Unterwegs*, Heft 1, 1951, or "The Christian between East and West", *Evangelische Theologie*, Heft 4, 1950-1951, or John C. Bennett, *Christianity and Communism*, New York, London, 1949.

an often unconscious, but important factor in European nationalism<sup>1</sup>.

Very few Germans would be able to think of other European dangers of self-righteousness. There are not many Jews left in Europe any longer and they may go to the state of Israel. The latter as well as Africa and Asia are far away. It is not good to be preoccupied by the nearest problems, because they are not always the most important. Therefore I should like to say a few words about the Jews and the "black" Africans. I think our racial self-righteousness becomes most evident as soon as we look at these two groups.

### *What do we know about the Jews?*

We find anti-semitism now in Germany as well as in other countries of Europe. If you ask a German student what he thinks about the Jews, he will in most cases tell you nearly the same that he told you fifteen years ago : they never work with their hands, they handle international policy and economy ; they follow after strange religious rites ; they are just so different from other Germans. If you go on asking why they are that way, you will hear : it is their nature, their racial peculiarity. Very few people will be able to explain to you that Jews did not work with their hands (they are working with their hands now in Palestine and like to do so) because for a long time they were forbidden in most European countries to own land, forbidden to do any craftsmanship. They were only allowed to run small businesses and money exchanges. A "good Christian" would never do such things. If you ask people to which race the Jews belong, you will hear : they are Semites. Who knows that this is a name for a group of languages, but not for a race, and that the Jews are probably a mixture of African, European and Asian races ? Who knows that their peculiarities are probably to the smallest extent a consequence of their racial origin, but rather of their religion and history ?

Although most European Jews are dead, we should know much more about all this. Their souls will not keep quiet as long as so many people think : Hitler did go too far, but he was not

<sup>1</sup> See RUTH BENEDICT, *Race and Racism*, London, 1942, p. 127.

totally wrong. We Christians should be able to tell such people the story of the Jews in a way that they are compelled to love them. Our Master was a Jew. The history of His people should raise our interest. It is up to the present time one of the most fascinating chapters in world history.

### *What do we know about black Africans?*

Another important, and perhaps the most dangerous, European self-righteousness is towards the black Africans, because they together with the Jews have suffered terribly from the consequences of this attitude. And they are still the most helpless against the "white" methods of discrimination. We Europeans often blame the Americans of the U.S.A. for not knowing very much about European history and culture, and therefore making many mistakes in their political actions. There is some truth in this observation : many Americans thought, and perhaps sometimes still think, that they could bring and apply their democratic truth to every country without knowing its specific background.

Yet how little *we* know about African history and culture ! We often do not even know that African peoples have a history. We try to deny it. In the cases where this is impossible, as in Egypt, we speak of a white civilization, as Toynbee does. Another historian describes quite rightly the population of Ethiopia as black, yet continues by pointing out that the Ethiopians are by no means Negroes, for Negroes are not able to create anything like a civilization. The old and great kingdoms of Western and Central Africa are altogether forgotten. Europeans do not want to be reminded of Negro culture, of a Negro as a person of high standards.

I learned for the first time more about these black Africans when I studied and lived for a year with American and African Negroes at Howard University in Washington, D.C. This experience was a revelation for me. I found out that Negroes are very different from what many whites tell about them without ever having been in a Negro's home or without ever having talked with an educated Negro. Very few people imagine who Negroes actually are. We are inclined to think of them as

Negroes first and thus think of our prejudices first, but we should think of them primarily as human personalities with the same strengths, the same weaknesses, the same temptations, the same feelings we have. Then we will understand them. In Washington I sometimes took one or two of my Negro friends to "white" churches : they always felt right away who looked at their colour first and who looked at them as a brother in Christ first. They never liked to go back to a church where people had been colour-conscious. They felt with an utterly helpless desperation : we are embarrassing for them. What is true in regard to those Negroes is in a similar way true in regard to other groups which are discriminated against.

I also heard in Howard University from the African Negroes facts about their country which I had never come across in Europe. In German schools we learned something about the former German colonies in Africa, but not much more. Who in Europe knows very much about slavery and especially the African slave trade ? Who knows that this trade began as early as 1441 and did not end before 1870 ? Who knows that in the eighteenth century this slave trade became the greatest single body of trade on earth ? Who has ever thought about the moral consequences this slave trade had on European civilization ? The position of labour and the respect of humanity were degraded during these centuries. We suffer from this degradation now. Yet at the same time "the concept of the European 'gentleman' was evolved : a man well bred and of meticulous grooming ; but one who did not hesitate to use machine guns against Assagais and to cheat 'niggers' ; an ideal of sportsmanship which reflected the Golden Rule and yet contradicted it..."<sup>1</sup> Thus the same writer is able to ask whether William Pitt was really a great patriot or rather an international thief. These contradictions in our European history should be known. We should become conscious of these facts and try to face history realistically : there is in Europe evidence of selfless religious faith, there is philanthropic effort, there is a high culture, but at the same time there is this slave trade and other inhuman actions. Without knowing the historical truth, we may think ourselves as righteous

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Du Bois, *The World and Africa* (New York, 1947, p. 23).

as is possible and still be prejudiced. With the knowledge of this truth we do not have any excuse whatever for our self-righteousness.

It is a shameful fact that this trade was finally stopped neither by the many revolts of the slaves, nor mainly by humanitarian or genuine Christian efforts or reasons, but by economic factors : colonial imperialism proved more profitable than slavery<sup>1</sup>. And the truth is that even now after two world wars we have not changed our basic opinions toward these Africans. It is interesting that Karl Marx, in his *Das Kapital*, is one of the first to condemn vigourously this state of affairs. It is still the privilege of the communists to put their fingers on many weak points of the Western world. We should not be too proud to listen to them. In the Russian Zone of Germany children play with negro puppets, and in school they are taught that Negroes have the same rights as any other human beings. The participants in the recent World Youth Festival in Berlin wore a badge with a white, a black and a yellow man.

### *Colonial policy or what else ?*

We have to change our attitude toward these black Africans. Then we will not give them any more what we have to give according to political necessity and pressure, but we will find out that we owe them much more. If we do not pay voluntarily now, we may have to pay with blood later on. We have to realize that for centuries we treated black Africans like animals and this cannot be healed with some nice gestures. The missionaries, regrettfully, did not change the general picture for a long time, because they very seldom questioned the practices of their states. Most missionaries questioned neither slave trade nor traditional colonial policy. They thought to do enough in caring for the souls of their people. In this respect many missionaries represented a religion of inward life. Fortunately they have made up their minds now and understood the challenge.

If we change our traditional attitude, we have to abandon colonial policy altogether — this colonial policy which European nations tend to use not only in dealing with other races, but

<sup>1</sup> Du Bois, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

also among themselves. Hitler has used it, as well as to some degree the occupying powers in Germany, or the Jews in Palestine. I am going to quote Martin Buber, the great Jewish philosopher, who speaks of the error made in the political planning of Israel. His insights may help us to find new ways in inter-racial and international relations :

This basic error consisted in the tribute paid by political leadership to the traditional colonial policy, which was less suitable for Palestine than for any other region of the globe. Hence, political leadership was guided by international and not intra-national considerations. Instead of relating the aims of the Jewish people to the geographical reality, wherein these aims had to be realized, the political leaders saw these aims only against the background of international events...<sup>1</sup>

Buber wants to put Palestine as a bi-national state into the organic context of the Middle East and thus keep it out of international entanglements. He is striving for a bi-national state without the traditional principle of majority and minority, in this case a majority of Jews and a minority of Arabs. His aim is cooperation of both national groups. Colonial policy against cooperation, and international political considerations against an intra-national principle are the alternatives which Buber puts before us. He knows that these ideals can only be realized by sacrifices on both sides. National, racial or economic self-righteousness have to be put aside. It must be possible for two or more nations to be politically and economically unified, while remaining culturally and religiously diverse.

We should learn from Buber what abandonment of the traditional colonial policy looks like in a specific case and apply this to other European problems. In the light of Buber's conception, we should think over our self-righteousness towards Africa in order to find a new approach. Our self-righteousness has in many cases become so strong that we do not even think of other possibilities. We are so totally absorbed by the idea of white supremacy or nationalism that any other reality leaves us helpless.

<sup>1</sup> MARTIN BUBER, *Towards Union in Palestine, Essays on Zionism and Jewish-Arab Cooperation*, Jerusalem, 1947.

In conclusion, I want to point out that the terms "colonial" or "racial" or "nationalistic" could be replaced very often by the word "egocentric". Egocentrism is really the basic error of thinking ; it is the root of our self-righteousness. Naturally we think that our race is the best, our culture the highest, our history the most glorious, our denomination the most Christian, our ideas the most valuable, and with these most honourable thoughts we go straight away to — hell. Agreed, a person cannot live without some self-respect, but we should not try to find our self within ourselves, but in Christ the Lord. He helps us to overcome our egocentricity. He gives us strength for a return from our false ways. We need His strength for we are on a narrow and a dangerous road. Society does not want to be stirred up out of its self-righteousness : it seems to be so cosy in it. And we do not want to go our way alone with only a few companions. It seems so much easier to be with the majority. Therefore we need Christ the Lord as our strength.

# American University Life and the Race Problem

LEILA ANDERSON

The Federation Greybook, *The Christian and the World Struggle*, can help us understand the race problem in American colleges and universities. The demand for justice, dignity, and participation is seen in the attendance by thousands of non-Caucasians in America year after year at institutions of higher education regardless of poverty, social handicaps, and the uncertainty of their vocational future. This same demand for justice and participation is seen in the steady pressure through the years for the opening up of the best universities to people of all races rather than permitting them to remain restricted. Significantly enough it is those who have suffered most in our American society, the Negroes, who have taken the lead and borne the brunt of this struggle. We see in America restlessness, resentment, leadership by the oppressed, and change — aspects of the world revolution Thomas and McCaughey so ably describe in their book.

## *American democratic traditions*

A Swedish S.C.M. Secretary asked me this spring if it is true that the American university situation is improving racially, and I was able to reply that it is.

In some ways these recent encouraging developments are related to our historic American democratic revolution. (There is also an awareness among Americans that our professions of belief in democracy have a hollow ring internationally unless we can somehow work out more democratic race relations in our own country.) These developments are based on the principles of freedom, equality, and justice which were incorporated into the legal structure of our country many years ago. The appeals of the underprivileged are definitely based on these

principles and have been sustained by the highest court in the country. It is this court, the Supreme Court, which is charged with the interpretation of the Constitution of the United States. Unfortunately the regions and the states have not always been as clear as the United States about the questions of race relations. It is to the states that responsibility for education is entrusted, and many of these have laws requiring segregation of the races. However, even in these cases, technically there must always be equal accommodations. The principle of separate but equal accommodations has been emphasized in some of the Southern states especially, but it has become increasingly clear that there are almost never equal accommodations if they are separate. This has led some of the major organizations working in the field of race relations, including student Christian groups, to reach the conclusion years ago that segregation, that is, the enforced setting apart of people, is essentially discriminatory and must therefore be opposed. It is on the basis that equal facilities for education are not provided that much of the successful legal action has taken place.

### *Patterns of segregation*

But America belongs to the Western world not only with its regard for freedom and equality but also in its tendency to rationalize regarding the status of the races. Even without the colonial connections which Western European countries have had, Americans to a considerable extent have believed in the superiority of the white man. Of course this conception is not universal in America and has been ably combatted in all kinds of ways, but the system of slavery, the Reconstruction Period following the Civil War, and the political and economic advantages sought by some have contributed greatly to the establishment and the continuance of race prejudice on the part of large numbers of people.

Colleges and universities developed along segregated lines in sections of America where most of the Negroes lived. About one-tenth of the population of the country is Negro, and this population was found almost completely in the South until the First World War. The South is still the section of the country

where most Negroes live. Therefore the colleges available to most Negroes are the Negro colleges of the South. They vary considerably in their academic standing, but on the whole their resources are very limited. Some Negro students go out of the South to the non-segregated institutions of the North and West.

Patterns of college and university life vary somewhat in different places and types of institutions. But one can say with some accuracy that discrimination is often present even though the institution itself is non-segregated. Sometimes it is to be found in the admission practices or in referral for part-time work while in college or for professional work upon graduation or in housing and eating accommodations. One large university, for example, supervises strictly the living accommodations for white women students but accepts no responsibility for the housing of Negro women. I have had Negroes report to me in a large state university the belief they were discriminated against because of the grades they had received. On the other hand I once asked a group of Japanese-American students in this same university if they thought their grades were lower because they were non-Caucasian, and they said on the contrary they felt they were sometimes given better grades than they deserved, because they, as a group, had a reputation for good academic work.

University life in many ways reflects attitudes found in the life of the non-student community. I refer especially to the concern for social status, "right marriages", professional and business success, fraternity and sorority life. In general it is not considered socially acceptable in American universities for Caucasian students to have close friends among non-Caucasian students, and mixed marriages are usually discouraged especially by the families of students. They occur from time to time however. Actually in the history of America there has been a great deal of miscegenation.

### *Inter-racial activities*

Non-governmental or voluntary groups as they are often called make their contribution to the total race situation in the university largely through bringing together students of the

various races in study and discussion groups, clubs, conferences, and in sharing leadership responsibilities. The National Student Association, an organization somewhat like the European National Unions of Students, at the time of its formation about four years ago took a strong and positive position on democratic race relations. The National Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. pioneered in making its structure and its conferences inter-racial and have had for many years inter-racial leadership—staff, faculty, and student. Even in the South and Southwest where the situation is hardest these organizations have had inter-racial student conferences for years, sometimes with very little support or encouragement from the non-student community, and sometimes with actual opposition. The National Student Association, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., and the Jewish and Roman Catholic student organizations are working together under the leadership of the American Council on Education to improve the racial situation in the colleges of America with regard to admissions, scholarship aid, housing, student employment, athletics, recreation, health, employment of professors, and student-teacher training. (We may note here that special progress has been made in recent years in athletics.) The efforts of these organizations are directed towards eliminating discrimination in all these areas of university life.

#### *Advancement of equality*

Prominent in these aspects of inter-racial work as well as in the legal aspects are certain organizations largely controlled by Negroes. Notable among these is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has for many years been alert to the possibilities of legal action to improve the racial situation and which long ago did some of the clearest thinking about the importance of opposing segregation. This is itself a racially inclusive organization but definitely led and inspired by Negroes. Some very able lawyers work with it. It is through the work of this organization largely that recent drastic changes have come in some of the colleges and universities of the South and Southwest. I use the word drastic simply because of the established pattern of segregation there

and the belief of many that no fundamental changes would come for a long time and without the greatest resistance. On June 5, 1950, the Supreme Court handed down unanimous decisions in two famous cases, the Sweatt and McLaurin cases. Texas and Oklahoma respectively were ordered to admit these two Negro men to their state universities for graduate study. It is felt that this Supreme Court decision, though far-reaching and influential, was only partly responsible for some of the changes which have occurred recently in the practices of Southern colleges and universities in admitting Negroes. The Court's decision applied only to state institutions, but some private colleges and universities, formerly all-white, have begun to enroll Negroes. It is widely reported that on the whole Negroes have been readily accepted in the colleges to which they are now admitted and their relations with other students are good. The legal battles have centred about the admission of Negro students to graduate schools because these efforts were most likely to be successful under the "separate but equal" principle, since good graduate schools have been largely unavailable to Negroes in the South. Negro and white students are therefore studying together increasingly in both graduate and undergraduate institutions.

We should not assume because of the foregoing paragraphs that the race problem in the American university is solved. However, it has been said on reliable authority that at no time since the Civil War has such progress been made in breaking down segregation in higher education. Because of the many factors which influence race relations, and indeed the total social relations within a nation, it is not possible to predict the course of race relations in America even for the next few years. It can only be said that the present trend in the colleges is extremely encouraging and there are many sound educational efforts being made. The liberal humanitarianism in the American tradition is being drawn on effectively for purposes of improving race relations. Individuals and organizations with religious insights continue to work for a more fundamental understanding of the problems and possibilities of human relations.

# **THE STUDENT WORLD CHRONICLE**

## **Letters on the Race Problem in South Africa**

### **I. A LETTER FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO THE W.S.C.F. POLITICAL COMMISSION**

You have asked me for a personal declaration of how I as a Christian approach the political situation in South Africa, especially in view of the racial problem.

I realise very deeply that your request is an enormously great one, and it is with great hesitation and the deepest humility that I am venturing to accede to your request.

At the outset I wish to state very definitely that I endeavour in truth and righteousness to apply the principles of the Lord Jesus Christ to all racial problems. The words of Scripture, which say : "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them" (Matt. 7 : 12), and "Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free ; but Christ is all and in all" (Col. 3 : 11), are to me truths before which I would fain bow in deep humility and which I would seek to obey, and yet I realise that man — myself included — is in constant danger of having his view coloured by human short-sightedness, yea, even selfishness, and, in the case of racial relationships, by national selfishness.

*1. A picture of the racial groups of South Africa and how they are grouped.* With this motivation as starting-point, it is necessary in the first place to present to you a clear view of South Africa and its various racial groups.

#### *Population of the Union*

	<i>European</i>	<i>Bantu</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Asiatic</i>	<i>Total</i>
1936 .....	2,003,856	6,596,689	769,661	219,691	9,589,897
1946 .....	2,335,460	7,735,809	905,040	282,539	11,258,858
Increase ...	16.55%	17.27%	17.59%	28.61%	

The population of the Union is spread over four provinces. The two extended and sparsely-populated South-West and Bechuanaland Territories are situated on the north side, and Swaziland and Basutoland within the boundaries of the Union, but not politically part of it. Each of these territories has a very large Bantu population. Natal contains, proportionally, the largest native population and practically eighty per cent of the Asiatic population group. In the Transvaal and the Cape Province the proportion of European to Bantu is 1 to 3, but the Bantu of the Cape Province are practically concentrated in the Eastern portion and half of them east of the Kei River. Of the Coloured population we find ninety per cent in the Cape Province, and of these almost twenty-five per cent in Cape Town and surroundings.

2. *The standard and manner of living of each group briefly described.* The native population for the most part lives under primitive conditions in their tribal relations. Not even twenty per cent are evangelised, and a much smaller proportion can be described as educated and civilised in the usual sense of the word. As a nation, however, they only have one home, viz., South Africa. They live by tilling the soil and rearing cattle, which they do in a very primitive way. Thousands of them go and work in the cities temporarily, many of them remain there and thousands work on the farms. The Bantu possess a strongly developed sense of nationhood and in some groups a national pride, which may have a wholesome influence.

The Coloured group, too, only has one mother-country, South Africa. A slightly larger proportion of these than of the Bantu can be considered educated. There is no longer such a thing as tribal connection among them. The majority of them are labourers in the service of Europeans in the cities and on the farms. As a community in general they live on a very low level morally. Drunkenness and immorality are rife among them. Their bodily resistance against diseases like consumption, etc., is small. Among the Coloured group there is a great lack of national consciousness.

The Asiatic group has a large share in the trade of the country and stands on a higher level of civilisation than the Coloured population. The majority are Hindu, but we find Mohammedans among them, too. We find a strong national consciousness among them, but they very often still look to India, and therefore do not stand with both feet firmly planted on South African soil.

As regards the Europeans, I am leaving out of account small minorities such as Jews, Greeks, etc., and wish to draw attention to the two important groups only, viz. the Afrikaans- and the English-speaking sections. A large proportion of the latter are inclined to

live with their hearts somewhere across the water. "Home" to them does not yet mean South Africa. The Afrikaans-speaking section, which contributes fifty-five per cent of the European population, stands with both feet firmly planted on African soil and has no other home but South Africa. For convenience's sake, I shall refer to the Afrikaans-speaking section as Afrikaners, and to the English-speaking as English-speaking South Africans, and when referring to both groups, I shall speak of European South Africa.

3. *Clashing theories in connection with racial questions.* In South Africa there have always been two current and clashing points of view from which the question of racial relations has been approached : the liberalistic view and the other, which I shall call the principle of separateness.

Liberalism, which was born of the motto of the French Revolution — Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity — will not recognise any racial difference, and for all races there must be absolute equality in the whole community. Franchise, too, must be extended to everybody on an equal basis. When the individual has reached a certain level of civilisation, e. g. when he is able to read and write and is in possession of certain property, then he is supposed to be able to make the right use of such franchise.

The principle of separateness is recognised by practically the whole Afrikaans nation and a large portion of the English-speaking South Africans as well. We, Afrikaners, have a consciousness of nationhood, as mentioned above, which has developed in the struggle to hold our own against the less civilised inland tribes on the one hand and the mighty English culture on the other hand. As already mentioned, it was a national consciousness formed under the influence of Calvinism and a definitely religious Christian feature. Our nation is a nation because we have a calling from God and that calling is to carry the light of Christianity into this portion of the world and propagate the Christian faith. As a nation we receive the spiritual and temporal blessings of the Almighty, but where another nation does not yet enjoy those blessings, we realise that it is our calling and duty to carry those blessings out to them.

4. *The principle of separateness applied.* In order to carry out this task of ours, it is essential that the four racial groups — European, Native or Bantu, Coloured and Asiatic — be kept apart. Within each group there should be the opportunity for the individual to develop himself to the utmost according to his abilities. The Europeans, who enjoy the highest level of civilisation and who brought Christian civilisation here, must as guardians now give guidance to

the other less civilised groups, so that they may develop in their separate tribal groups to their own advantage and to the advantage of the group as a whole.

This principle of separateness should be applied to the economic, social and political sphere. It will not be possible for me now to go into details. I shall point out the broad principles only :

(a) *In the economic sphere*, competition among the several racial groups should be ruled out, and each group should be protected against the exploiter, who, if he belongs to another group, may proceed in a terrible way. And the specialist, the tradesman and the professional among his own nation should be given the opportunity of serving his own national group and of climbing himself to the highest rung socially.

(b) The lower developed groups should be protected against the residuum of the higher groups. And each group should be given the opportunity of becoming acquainted with its own residuum as well as its own leaders and the best of its own group. In a mixed society the weaker race greatly suffers under the degraded ones of the higher group. Then there are those who, owing to causes beyond their control, have fallen out in the economic sphere. In a mixed society these run the greatest risk of degenerating into the lower group, whereas, if they had remained among their own people, they would very soon have rehabilitated themselves.

(c) *In the political sphere*, in accordance with the principle of separateness, each group must get the opportunity of governing itself. There must be a gradual development with independence as the ultimate goal, in other words, aiming to reach sovereignty in its own sphere.

Personally I should like to see that all groups get the chance of governing themselves and managing their own affairs ; but for the present, as far as the Bantu and Asiatic groups are concerned, these should be governed by their own councils under the guardianship of European South Africa. The different groups are distributed in such a way that such a council or councils can easily develop into self-governing bodies that may eventually become sovereign and form a federal connection with the present parliament.

As far as the Coloured group is concerned, the problem becomes a little more difficult. The Coloured people possessed the franchise on an almost equal footing with the Europeans. But experience has taught us — and this is our objection against this sort of equality — that the Coloured franchise is nothing else but a political puppet, controlled in such a manner that it may serve other interests and

that in reality it is of no uplifting social value to the Coloured group. If they can vote for their own representatives on separate voters' lists, or if by means of separate residential quarters electoral divisions can be marked out in such a way that the Coloured vote can place the thoughts and interests of the Coloured section in the foreground and serve them, the Coloured group as a whole will be benefitted much more than at present, where the franchise is used to serve the thoughts and interests of another group.

5. *A further appreciation of our standpoint of separateness.* The principle of separateness was born in the struggle of the Afrikaner for existence. He has an aversion to becoming hybridised, in the physical as well as a cultural sense. Through his national consciousness, which under the influence of Calvinism has strongly developed owing to his God-consciousness, he has developed a strong consciousness of his calling. And that calling he can only fulfil if he remains himself. If he becomes hybridised, the original national thought disappears ; then a heterogeneous national group is formed.

In addition to this we have to face the fact that fusion with other and less civilised racial groups will mean deterioration for at least a century or two, as proved by the results of such hybridisation in other parts of the world.

Culturally, too, we Afrikaners do not wish to become hybridised, but to remain ourselves to the best of our abilities such as the Creator in His supreme wisdom has meted out to us. Not that we despise the other man's language and culture, but our own is beautiful and dear to us ; it is our heritage, no matter how highly developed and how rich and beautiful the other language is. Under God's all-wise guidance our national history has been directed in such a way that in the past it has given us that measure of isolation that has enabled us to develop into a national group of our own.

This right, then, of being ourselves and of vindicating ourselves we should like to see extended to the other racial groups. The equality advocated by liberalism wishes to wipe out all distinction. If all racial distinction in the economic, social and political sphere is wiped out, then we may grant to a small portion of the non-European population equal opportunities of cooperating with us in all respects and to move in the same society with us, and he becomes a Europeanised Bantu or Asiatic or Coloured person, but not a civilised Bantu or Asiatic or Coloured person.

Indeed, this is what happens on a large scale to the Coloured group today. That member of the group whom Providence has granted a slightly lighter colour can think out some plan or other

and edge his way into the European community and eventually pass for a European. If such an individual was a gifted person, such a procedure constitutes a loss for the Coloured group and is no unmixed blessing to the Europeans, as a later descendant will often experience to his great consternation.

So we find many an educated native who as a result of the principle of equality is keen to join with the Europeans, and for his own group he is worthless. He is a Europeanised native and no civilised and true member of his own national group.

*6. The rise of our big cities and the principle of separateness.* The danger of mingling has become greater during the last twenty-five to forty years with the rise of our bigger cities and towns and the enormous national migration of all races from the country regions to the bigger cities, especially the Witwatersrand and the coastal cities of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban. To the individual, no matter from which racial group he comes, the change from a rural to an urban community is a spiritual revolution. The change brings him into an altogether different sort of relation in the economic and social sphere. The racial contact, too, is quite different. In the country the line of division is clear. In the urban community many a psychological structure, that had taken more than a century to build up, breaks down completely; also such structures as bear upon the relationship in which the one race stands to the other.

Under the rule of liberalism the racial struggle will be continued for centuries, just as in its extreme left wing communism places the great principle of the class struggle in the foreground, as being essential for the furtherance and realisation of its ideal.

In the principle of separateness, however, the individual is given the opportunity of development in his own group. To state the matter concretely, the principle of separateness aims at giving the Bantu the opportunity of developing as Bantu, the Asiatic as Asiatic and the Coloured as Coloured, and not to serve as an appendix to the European.

*7. An example of the application of the principle of separateness by the Dutch Reformed Church.* The Dutch Reformed Church has a separate church for the Coloured community, in which Coloured elders and deacons have all the say, and now Coloured ministers are trained as well, which will mean a gradual development into a self-governing church. The Bantu members are also now grouped into a separate church connection, and recently the principle was laid down that the language of the church shall be the language of the national group and not Afrikaans. As far as I know this is the only church

that has so far laid down this principle. The Bantu Presbyterian Church, which consists exclusively of natives, has English as its official language and their own vernacular is merely a by-language.

It is only on the principle of separateness as applied by the Dutch Reformed Church that justice can be done to the motto of letting the young church develop into a self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating church. This is our interpretation of the principle of separateness which should be consistently applied to the ordinary domain of life, the economic, the social and the political.

8. *Further criticism of the liberalistic principles.* Liberalism professes to aim at justice and righteousness and equality of opportunity for everybody, and yet this is not the case. It makes the Coloured person an appendix of the European and the Bantu a kind of Europeanised black person. The individual is brought to despise his own instead of appreciating it and of developing what is good in it. Liberalism practically means the destruction of what is peculiar to the nation.

Liberalism may give to a few the opportunity of sharing in the cultural treasures of another nation, but for the nation as a whole it has no uplifting influence. In the principle of separateness, where the national group is organised in such a manner that it is served by its own people — ministers, teachers, council members, professionals, specialists, etc. — the best opportunity is provided for the development of leadership. And where the ideal leader makes his appearance and catches hold of the people's imagination, there we find the most powerful means of stirring up national consciousness. And a national consciousness further sanctified by the Christian religion is in its turn a powerful means for social uplifting.

9. *A few Christian principles necessary for governing all questions of racial relationship.* For my own satisfaction I wish to lay down the following maxims for governing my personal relationship towards the member of another racial group and for guiding me in my actions towards him :

(1) Do not grudge one another the slightest opportunity of existence in a way worthy of a human being : the European towards the Coloured, the Coloured towards the Bantu, and vice versa. I as a European Christian am grateful to the Almighty for having given me my nation, my language, my native land. I am contented to share these with a compatriot, Bantu or Coloured person, but I have a calling as Afrikaner, and he has a calling as Bantu, etc., and let us all know our calling and be faithful to it. Only in the principle of

separateness, in which everyone is given a full opportunity, do I see the possibility of answering the purpose of the Creator.

(2) Do not grudge one another the opportunity of occupying a position of honour and respect in society ; everyone has the right of claiming such an opportunity. There should be no mutual ill-feeling. There should be no mutual hatred. We can live together here in the same country and enjoy the same homeland. In my opinion, this can only be made possible by applying the principle of separateness.

(3) Do not grudge one another the same God and Father, the same Saviour and the hope of the same glory. We are all children of one and the same Father and we should do everything in our power to get on with one another. This, as far as I can see, can only be made possible by applying the principle of separateness.

This principle can only be applied if we ourselves cultivate a spirit of good will, Christian tolerance and mutual trust and sympathy.

I am conscious of great difficulties that will have to be surmounted before the principle of separateness can be applied. I also know that everybody isn't quite clear as to what this principle exactly is or to what extent it should be applied. I am convinced, however, that when once an ideal catches hold of a nation and sets it on fire, great possibilities will present themselves.

May the Lord grant that, under the guidance of the Federation, the Christian standpoint with regard to the question of racial relationship will find clear expression.

J. C. N. MENTZ

## II. A REPLY FROM AMERICA

I am in agreement with the South African writer that we are one in the Lord who is The Way, The Light and The Truth. It is this common brotherhood which impels me to write and to present my views in the hope they will be of aid, and a stimulus to him and to others. Yet, on the one hand, I understand that I cannot possibly appreciate his position fully, for I am not a South African ; and, on the other hand, I am a Negro who has known the intricacies and complexities of the race situation in the U.S.A. It is on the basis of this common fellowship in Christ, my own experiences, and my inadequate understanding of South Africa that I wish humbly to submit these views to the following criticism.

### *I. The Church and the race question*

Before analyzing the writer's theory of separateness, I wish to discuss "the sense of calling" which, and rightly so, plays so great a part in his sense of responsibility towards the different groups of South Africa. This feeling of being called to preach the Word of God to all peoples and to alleviate their miserable condition is the logical sequence when one has the Truth, when life and history present a point towards which we work, a meaning in themselves. This calling one respects and acknowledges with pleasure, for its potentialities are great.

Yet, what of the denial of this calling ? A people who immigrate to a new land and are surrounded by a hostile people would be tempted to see great resemblance between the journey of the Jews from Egypt to Canaan and their own Great Trek in 1836. The Pentateuch and the hardships of the Jews would speak to them in such a way as to develop an extreme sense of calling. There would be a tendency to forget the judgments of Isaiah and Jeremiah on both Israel and the surrounding nations. In addition, the preoccupation of Calvin and Zwingli with the biblical stress of the function of law and the rigorous discipline demanded by the wilderness would develop a legalism and a puritanism which would be the main sources of strength of the Afrikaners. Yet, they would forget that —as necessary as is this tradition —Christ stands in judgment on the ineffectiveness and hypocrisy of the legalism of the pharisees. Thus, one suspects that the entire tradition of the Afrikan Church has been in a direction which has overstressed this sense of calling at the expense of the Christian qualities of love and mercy, in a direction which has stressed the calling and forgotten its finite character.

It is this awareness which I sought in this paper, but was unable to detect. In his third paragraph, it is true the writer says that "man — myself included — is in constant danger of having his view coloured by human shortsightedness, yea, even selfishness, and in the case of racial relationships, by national selfishness", but this attitude is not truly apparent in the rest of the paper. His real attitude, I think, is summarized in this quotation: "Through his national consciousness which under the influence of Calvinism has strongly developed owing to his God-consciousness, he has developed a strong consciousness of his calling", or "Our national consciousness is characterized by a strong consciousness of our calling". In view of the above comments, one asks if this calling is being overemphasized to the point where it justifies the Europeans in South Africa, where it hides the self-interest of the controlling class? One wonders if this calling cannot border on hypocrisy. Is this calling being given a divine character whereby it becomes a sin or a scandal if the other groups are not aware of the same calling or do not wish to accept the calling of the Afrikaners? Is this calling, with its apparent divine nature, being so irreconcilably connected with the theory of separateness that the latter becomes almost divine and the only manner of solving the race problem in South Africa?

Here the danger for South Africa is twofold. Firstly, if the finite character of the calling is forgotten, it will develop an unholy self-righteousness in the Afrikaners. Secondly, if the calling at the same time is connected with the theory of separateness, irreconcilably, then if this theory is ever proved in South Africa to be inadequate or is rejected by the other groups, will not the Church and its calling be endangered, its message scorned and rejected? In so far as this connection of relationship is strengthened, the day may come when the message of the Christ must be rejected at the same time as separateness. This is a dangerous path of action for the Church.

My purpose in this line of thought is to place the calling in its proper perspective and to divorce it from the theory of separateness. When this is done, we can more sanely and logically analyze the Church's role in race relations and the truth of the theory of separateness. We can ask the Church, regardless whether separateness is true or not, to stand in judgment on society and speak of the possible evils which result from the theory. However, if the two were connected, would the Church not hesitate to judge society, for this would automatically mean a judgment of itself? Could not one compromise the other? Therefore, this separation and perspective are necessary.

Still deferring the question of the truth of separateness, I state categorically that for the Church itself separateness is an absolute

impossibility. There is absolutely no manner whatsoever in which we can say we are one in Christ or that there is no difference between Greek and Jew and then apply separateness in the Church. One or the other is false. The Church is the one organization on this earth, which, because it is the Body of the Christ, recognizes that to lose its life is to win it and that love, the abnegation of power, is the highest power ; the one organization which can sacrifice its earthly self-interest because its true interest lies in the obeying of the Word of the Almighty Father, the one organization where popularity is not the highest criterion, for to consider popularity as a criterion in the Church would be to place it on a par with the Word. This is the position which the Church must take without equivocation.

It is true that a Church which lives in a racially prejudiced society may find this theory extremely difficult to practise and may have to proceed with caution, but this practical point in no way alters the fact that theoretically there is no separateness in the Church. This is the truth. Therefore, if the churches in South Africa believe this idea of no separateness in Christ, but proceed cautiously when applying it, they will be understood by all ; but, if they theoretically espouse separateness, their position is not tenable from a Christian point of view. If they establish different churches for other groups because this method is more effective, they will be understood ; but if this action is to bolster separateness in society, their position is again untenable.

When racial groups look to the Church, they do not ask for miracles in society, but rather that the Church within its domain will speak forthrightly and act openly and honestly. They do not ask that the Church abolish segregation in society, but rather that in the Church all worship, work, study, be together, that ministers and personnel be exchanged, that communion be in common. They do not ask the Church to engage in power politics, but that it speak the Truth in courageous terms—even if the Truth may partly condemn them — as it often does. They ask that the Word be made relevant to their lives. If miracles are not asked, what is asked is important. If we are said to be one in Christ, but cannot be one in worship, someone lies. If we say there is no difference between Greek and Jew, but cannot eat the bread of the Lord's Supper together, some one lies. If we speak of the Word of God, but refuse to use it where clearly necessary, some one lies again. Those points are important. They concern the Church itself, not society. If they cannot be granted, then the natural result must be either a questioning of the faith or a distrust of those who preach the Word. Therefore, in conclusion, let it be stated that in its domain the Church

cannot, under any term, whatsoever, accept the theory of separateness.

To refer to a minor point before closing this section : "Liberalism makes the Coloured person an appendix of the European and the Bantu a kind of Europeanised black person. The individual is brought to despise his own instead of appreciating and developing what is good in it." One is tempted by this statement to ask a few questions. Does the writer as an Afrikaner feel that he alone has developed his tradition or rather that he is dependent on Christ, who was a Jew, on a philosophical tradition mainly developed by the Greeks, on a tradition of law and order fostered by the Romans, and on a civilization to which all the world has contributed ? Then, it would appear that he has taken the best of the traditions of others and blended it with his own. Why cannot the Bantu do the same ? And if this argument is carried to its logical conclusion, since Christianity is not a Bantu tradition, why does he not stop his missionary work ? This statement is illogical and untenable.

The Afrikans are the products of their tradition and their environment. For this reason, the writer can speak against liberalism and espouse separateness, can speak of his calling as if it were divine, and denounce individualism. He does all this with a very clear conscience as he looks at himself from within history. Whether the same attitude is possible from a transcendent point of view beyond history is another question. I cannot answer this question, for this would grant to my conditional point of view a transcendence which it does not possess. Still, it is necessary that those questions be posed and that we see wherein the writer's theories are fulfilled and denied. In this section, I have attempted to do that.

## II. *An analysis of separateness*

Up to this point we have attempted to pose the conditional against the unconditional. Now, we must observe whether there is in puritanism and Calvinism a trend of truth which stands opposed to the theocratic ideas of the Afrikan Church, whether this trend does not prepare for the possible negation of the present-day manner of thinking. The answer to those questions will probably indicate that the equality of men need not be sought for in liberalism, but rather in the biblical tradition itself, and that separateness in so far as it is based on the inequality of the groups and of men is a Christian impossibility. Moreover, by the use of logic and dialectic, we wish to touch on the economic situation and to show that the union of Christianity, liberalism, and economics is preparing an era when separateness is a logical impossibility.

In Calvinist protestantism, there is another tradition which could not be exactly called democratic, yet which has been of inestimable aid to democratic forces in society. The concept of the priesthood of believers continually assumes an equality among sinners whereby they may respond to the call of God without intermediaries and may interpret the Bible in the light of their faith and reason. The experience of justification by faith is essentially an individualistic matter. The principle of contract in covenant theology whereby the Christians agree to obey God has great similarity to the contract theory of government. The right of private judgment in the reading of the scripture — though this right be limited by the total Christian tradition — not only equalizes the interpreter, but also gives to his reason and wisdom, on which his judgment rests, an equality and dignity. This essentially individualistic and equalitarian effect of protestantism is not without great support in the Bible.

In addition, were we to study the texts issued during the great period of the Dutch Reformed Church's struggle against the Spanish, would we not find continual reference to the dignity of men — references also supported by the Bible? Did not William of Orange in the Dutch National Anthem say "that I may stay a pious servant of thine for aye, and drive the plagues that try us and tyranny away". And was not the double battle-cry of that time *Religionis causa, liberta ergo* (For religion, and therefore for liberty). Thus, in the tradition of the Dutch Reformed Church, is not liberty an essential element? Do not these and other references give to men the right to appeal directly to God and be a law unto themselves when they are threatened with tyranny and law against God?

The protestant tradition, in one trend, has exalted the dignity and equality of the individual, which must presuppose liberty of conscience. Our right to appeal directly to God, to interpret the scripture in the light of our private judgment, assumes liberty. Our continual awareness of the unconditional standing in judgment on the conditional, of the infinite potentialities of the vitalities and forms of human existence, presuppose again a fundamental liberty and freedom of conscience. And, since religion in a theonomous society is "the substance of culture", this liberty and freedom must extend to the whole domain of society. There cannot be liberty in the Church and tyranny in society, for one must win over the other. These basic facts are an inherent part and logical sequence of our protestant tradition. They belong neither to a bourgeois nor to a capitalistic society, but to the Church. They must, for our very salvation, be continually stressed. And, though this tradition may be merged and fostered by different political and economic systems, it

must still retain its uniqueness and independence that it become not a handmaid, but that it may be the means whereby the Church speaks freely and forthrightly to society. In addition, in order that the Church itself may not become corrupt in some form, it is even more necessary that those in the Church enjoy this privilege whereby the Church can be continually judged in its finite role. Those who stand opposed to this tradition of ours must, in my opinion, stand in opposition to some of the best elements of the protestant tradition. On this, I see no compromise.

I think the Afrikan Church has these two conflicting trends in its midst today. As stated before, theocracy appears to be supreme now. However, the presence of the above tradition combined with other developments in society may yet in the future develop a more dynamic and democratic concept of life whereby individualism and freedom will enjoy a more favorable atmosphere. In so far as all this is true, this part of the protestant tradition can be the negation of the present attitude of the Afrikaners as stated and implied in the South African paper.

The principal point, now, is not whether separateness is a long-range solution of the race problem, but whether the theory on which it is based is in keeping with the above ideas, whether it is based on the equality and liberty of the individuals of the three groups of South Africa. One accepts the necessity of a long-range solution, for this is practical and necessary. Still, the real question is, what is the final ideal or goal sought by the solution? For me, it is here that separateness stands or falls. To prove the historical, economical, and political illogic or the injustice of separateness is far more simple than to pin down this one question of whether separateness is based on the equality of men. The writer has not said that it is based on inequality directly. Yet, the attitude of the paper and the facts presented suggest that this is the case. Everywhere in this paper, the idea of development of the group is stressed. This very fact means that separateness is based on inequality.

This being true, what possible hope does the present policy hold out to the different groups of South Africa? The three groups can not appeal to their rights, for they are considered inferior. According to the writer, they may appeal to the European group, who is their guardian. However, I shall later show in detail just what this guardianship can amount to — the protection of its self-interest. This being true, just what future do the three groups in South Africa have? Very little, in my opinion. For me, rather than place my faith in the sacredness of anyone's calling or guardianship, I will place my hope in the statement of a theory, based on Christian and democratic tradi-

tion, which recognizes men as equal before their God and their government. Once this is stated, then a long-range solution can be accepted with hope, for it is working towards a goal which does justice to the dignity of all men. Even if, and though, the controlling class thwarts this plan for its own self-interest, at least, one has the courts, the constitution, and the people at large to which to appeal. This method is slow and gradual, but it is in line with our beliefs and gives hope to all. If, however, this theory is not recognized, then by what means does the writer — and others who are sincere — manage to safeguard the victories they have won ? To what do they appeal ? Today, as Mr. Malan's government attempts to dis-enfranchise non-Europeans, on what theory is he opposed ? If we believed in separateness and inequality, there is nothing to which to appeal. The statement of this theory of equality is as necessary for men such as the writer as for the three groups.

### *III. Justice through guardianship*

One of the principal points of the writer's theory of separateness is the justice which is to be expected from the guardianship of the European group. This attitude I wish to analyze.

In our human relations, we seek through love to obey the commandments of the Lord Jesus Christ ; in our political and economic relations, we strive for justice, through the strategic and wise use of power. This love is, in most cases, a human love, which is evoked by reciprocity and not the sacrificial love of Christ ; this justice is a never perfect quality, for it admits the inevitability of sin by the very means which it employs. Justice is the extension to all groups and all citizens of the maximum rights and benefits which are due them as free and equal citizens before their government and believers before their God. The protection and the possession of justice necessitates freedom of conscience, person, speech, and belief. On the basis of this freedom and usually representative government, justice is obtained. If, however, this freedom is not present, then justice can be obtained only by force, violence, or revolution. In either case, power is the means to increased justice. One rarely finds that concessions are won from controlling groups unless there is an element of power. For a democratic country, the ballot, press, and representative government are the means ; in a totalitarian state, violence and bloodshed.

In racial relations, the different groups, contrary to popular belief, are more concerned with justice than with the love of their neighbours. In the domain of individual relations, they realize that

they are not loved. For example, there are many American Southerners who, through training and custom, feel a physical repulsion if they work beside a Negro. In the political and economic sphere where the different groups desire justice above all, they find injustice is the rule of the day. The illiteracy and backward conditions permit their economic exploitation as with the Negro in the U.S.A. and the Bantu in South Africa. They usually find themselves encompassed within a vicious circle whereby they are denied justice because of their poverty and ignorance, and are thus segregated, and then, in turn, are denounced as ignorant and inferior, which is due to the lack of justice. Thus, the groups are prevented from fighting for justice because of their segregation. This circle is usually viciously employed by the conservative and is disheartening to the reformer. Most racial groups realize that it is by justice and not love that they can break the vicious circle. They understand that good jobs, homes, adequate medical treatment, and educational facilities for their children are of the first importance. Once this process is started, the circle reverses itself, for progress in one area forces progress in other areas. Better jobs mean better homes, better health and better education, which, in turn, mean people better qualified to fight for increased justice. Thus, the vicious circle reverses the process and works to the benefit of the racial groups.

This justice and these goals cannot be obtained without freedom, for no group can ever truly represent the interests of another group — regardless of how enlightened the trusteeship. An excellent example of this is the difference in the U.S.A. between what American Negroes want first and what many white Americans think they want. On the one hand, many of the latter put all emphasis on social equality and intermarriage ; and on the other hand, the Negro desires employment, homes, education and his full democratic rights as granted by the Constitution. If, therefore, the Negro had no political power and freedom in the U.S.A., he would be greatly misrepresented by his fellow-Americans. Thus, if in South Africa, the European groups feel they can represent the true interest of the other three groups, they are grossly mistaken. No group can really represent the interests of another group, for the very element of sin causes the predominant group to prove logically that their self-interest is that of the other groups. This is usually not the case. Thus, even if separateness is based on equality, the guardianship of the Europeans, at best, is unable to be just.

If, however, separateness is based on inequality, then the Europeans in South Africa have no need to be just, for they are, in their eyes, the superior beings. They should think of what is best for

them and what is good for the other three groups, who are, in their eyes, inferior ; thus, if the assumption that separateness is based on inequality is true, there is no further point in discussing justice, for we buried years ago in old Jeremy Bentham's grave the idea that the self-interest of one group is the general good of all, and we know that the Europeans are logically bound to consider their self-interest as their first goal.

In actual fact, a study of the living conditions of the three groups in South Africa would probably reveal that separateness is the best method whereby the self-interests of the controlling group can be safeguarded. By means of this theory, the policy of "divide and rule" can best be employed and unity among the different groups prevented ; labor can be bought cheaply and exploited ; and the groups will weaken each other by fighting among themselves. In fact, a very sharp thrust at the justice of separateness was presented recently by the race riots among Bantus and Indians as a result of the exorbitant prices charged by the latter. If, as the writer claims, there should be no economic competition between the groups, why were the Indians permitted to do this ? If competition between the groups is unavoidable, then does this minor point show that separateness is unworkable and unrealizable ? In so far as all this is true, one wonders if those rightly proud of their Church and their calling should not probe a little deeper to see if they are employing something of value to mask their own self-interest.

The purpose of this section has been to point out the impossibility of justice being rendered under separateness. It is impossible if separateness is based on equality. It is useless to consider the idea if separateness is based on inequality.

#### IV. *Separateness an impossibility, and the future—fascism or democracy?*

The answer which the writer and others give to the problem of race relations is the measure by which Christianity and democracy will be judged and the determinant of the future of South Africa. I believe that if South Africa insists on separateness, it must be an agricultural and probably totalitarian country ; if it insists on developing an industrial society, separateness is an impossibility. The writer himself has stated the latter fact, for in one part he says : "The danger of mingling has become greater during the last twenty-five to forty years with the rise of our bigger cities and towns and the enormous national migration of all races from the country regions to the bigger cities... In the country the line of division is clear. In the urban community many a psychological structure that had taken more than

a century to build up, breaks down completely." If this is true, a minor question is : "How can separateness be a workable theory if it takes so long to build, and, if despite this, it can disintegrate so quickly?" The major question is : "Does not the writer state indirectly that separateness is compatible and practical in a semi-feudal society which is agricultural, self-sufficient, and isolated, but not in an industrial society?" The latter is dependent on free men and free labor, who are their own masters. It is a mobile, dynamic and democratic society. It is dependent on literate men and the free development of the potentialities of every individual. It usually espouses liberalism, the attitude of open-mindedness towards truth from whatever quarter it comes. Its dynamic vitality spreads from city to country and breaks down barriers wherever they are to be found. It insists on the respect of property rights. Can a society like this possibly make separateness work? (It is also true that there are grave injustices in this same society but they do not concern us here.)

If separateness is to be strictly enforced, it must stop all industrialization and progress. It must develop a semi-feudal society, which is self-sufficient. The natives must be kept "in their place". There must be as much isolation as possible. The society must also have a type of government which is compatible with this society. This would take a totalitarian form. For example : if as the writer insists, there would be no competition between the groups in economic affairs, what could this lead to? Would each group be democratic within itself and self-sufficient? The Bantus would have their own shops, doctors? Then, would not this democracy within the group gradually spread outward and negate the semi-feudal society? Would the groups be under the guardianship of the European group which would be democratic? Then, would not the democracy from this one group spread outward and negate the semi-feudal society? Or, is it not more probable that to keep the other groups in subjection, democracy in the European group would lose the battle and succumb before totalitarianism? Would, then, the society in general not be totalitarian and would the European not be oppressed by a few strong leaders? Would they not also lose some of the best parts of their culture? Let it be stated here frankly and clearly that not only does separateness assume a semi-feudal society, but it also presents a greater danger to the Europeans than to any other group in South African society. The only way the Europeans can enforce separateness is to destroy themselves.

Can this and will all this be done? Can South Africa stop the gradual unifying of the country by airplanes, better roads, and railroads? With industrialization already started, can the present

trend be stopped ? Can the clock be stopped and moved backward ? The answer is, I think, no. If this is true, is not the negation of separateness already present in South African society ?

The two groups in South Africa will face each other, superficially on the ground of separateness or freedom, but more fundamentally for or against an industrial society. The latter will probably win. However, there is a factor in the situation which is unknown : communism. We must remember that where people have no hope for the future and live in utter despair, communism often becomes an important factor. There is no point in saying that a proletariat has not developed in South Africa to support communism, for the examples of Russia and Eastern Europe prove that the presence of a strong, well-disciplined minority which can exploit the despair of the masses and convince it of the need for force, is quite capable of seizing the government. I tend to doubt that this can happen in South Africa. However, one important factor will be whether Christianity and democracy mean anything to the three groups. If they are interpreted in the same way as Marx — by the actions of the believers rather than by their beliefs — and if the groups see industrialization as no answer, communism may yet present a formidable front in the future.

In terms of this interpretation of South Africa, I think that separateness is an impossibility. To enforce it will mean the destruction of the best parts of European society. Yet, it is not impossible that this will happen. I hope, however, that industrialization will prevent this and that a more dynamic, just, and democratic society will develop.

### *Conclusion*

In the four sections of this paper, I have attempted to answer the writer's letter. I have tried to show that the theory of separateness is impractical, unjust, illogical, undemocratic, and I dare think this, unchristian. However, I am not a theologian, nor a scholar, nor do I fully understand the South African situation. Despite this, I have tried to present my views on this particular theory. However, I sincerely hope that men such as the South African writer, who as Christians try humbly to see the solution to this problem in the light of their faith, will find it through love and not fear, mercy and not legalism, justice and not self-interest. It is fitting that we in the Federation should join the South African Student Christian Movement in prayer, asking forgiveness for this sin of which we are collectively guilty. And, as we kneel, let us not shake our heads and say, "Those poor South Africans", for our eyes are not clear.

WILLIAM S. ELLIS.

## The Contribution of the National Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in the United States to Better Race Relations

FERN BABCOCK

A recent article in the *New York Times* announced that two hundred Negroes are now attending southern colleges and universities which formerly were open to white students only. It expressed surprise that these students had been accepted so warmly in such a large number of institutions throughout the South, where the pattern of segregated education had remained unbroken until five years ago.

Members of the National Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. were not surprised at the welcome given to Negro students and are aware of some of the contributions they have made in helping to bring about this change in the point of view of students. Here is a brief résumé of the experience of the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in the field of race relations.

From the time of their founding in 1858, the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have been concerned about Negro students and their place in American life. As soon as Negro colleges were established, Student Y.M.C.A.s and Y.W.C.A.s were started in them. Three of the twenty-one Associations forming the original Intercollegiate Y.M.C.A. in 1877 were in Negro colleges.

For many years, the American Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. were content to provide completely separate programs for their Negro and white members. Negro staff members visited Negro colleges, white staff members visited white colleges, and separate conferences were held for both groups. Even in the North, only a few Negro students participated in the Christian Association program.

It was the General Committee of the W.S.C.F. that quickened the conscience of American Christians, when it affirmed at its meeting in Peking, China, in 1922, the fundamental equality of all men because of their common sonship to God. This spark of insight flamed into real conviction at the Student Volunteer Movement Quadrennial Convention held at Indianapolis in 1923. Called to consider the claims of the missionary movement, hundreds of students realized that America must end the blight of racial discrimination at home, if the claims of Christ were to be heard in other lands.

*Development of interracial program*

On northern campuses, Christian Associations began to get acquainted with Negro students and to invite them to membership. For what now seems an incredibly long time, Negroes did not participate fully in the program but tended to remain in the "Inter-racial Group" of the campus C.A.s. Small groups began to study the history and culture of Negroes and to consider ways of improving their conditions in the communities near the campus. Many of these informal study groups were the forerunners of the academic courses in race relations offered in colleges and universities today.

At the same time, new life was stirring in the South. Even though they attended colleges for whites or for Negroes, members of the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. began to feel uncomfortable about the fact that their intercollegiate program was segregated. Why should their most significant experience of Christian community, the summer conference, be held separately for Negro men, white men, Negro women and white women? One of the first steps towards an integrated program took place in 1926, when the work of the four regional councils for men and women, Negro and white, was united in the Southwest Region. Gradually, each of the thirteen southern states began to hold experimental "inter-racial conferences". Then the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. in most southern states eliminated segregated meetings and held conferences open to all their members regardless of race.

Holding unsegregated conferences in the 1920's and 1930's took real courage. Since no other religious, educational or community group held inter-racial meetings in the South at that time, such a step was considered radical by most people. The problem of finding a conference site was and is a most difficult one. It is a rare camp, college, church, or community agency which allows an inter-racial group to use its facilities without discrimination. And the threat of physical danger always lurks in the background of such a conference. However, the nearest that violence has come to Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. groups was when a group of hoodlums came to burn down a camp the evening *after* the conference had adjourned at noon.

Thousands of Negro and white students have had opportunity to come to know and trust each other, as they have met in Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. conferences in the southern states. Students who return to segregated campuses, after having broken bread together, are never quite the same again. Hundreds of them have learned that God does not distinguish among his children of varying races, and that as Christians they must work to eradicate segregation and dis-

crimination. They have played a large part in changing the attitude of the student body from one of hostility to one of acceptance of students of other races.

While the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have helped to change attitudes and prepare the way for the acceptance of Negro students, it is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which is largely responsible for their presence in colleges and universities. The doors of state universities were not opened until the N.A.A.C.P. brought suit against them. Each case has gone from lower to higher courts, and has finally reached the Supreme Court of the United States which has compelled that university to cease discrimination against Negroes.

The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have paid a price for their decision to open their intercollegiate program to all members without segregation. Some colleges forbid their students to participate in interracial meetings, which weakens the leadership of the Christian Associations in these colleges. Three or four colleges have banned the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. from their campuses because of their interracial policy. It is disconcerting to see other member groups of the W.S.C.F. develop work in these colleges, when they are willing to compromise on the issue of race.

#### *Present position of Christian Associations*

Members of the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. continue to work for the elimination of segregation and discrimination in colleges and universities and in American life. Two recent issues of *The Intercollegian*, February 1950 and January 1951, have described the work of Christian Associations in eliminating segregation in athletics, in social life, and in student dormitories. In March the National Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. cooperated with the American Council on Education, the National Student Association and other groups in holding a conference at Earlham College to discuss ways of eliminating segregation in those areas of university life over which students have control. A recent issue of *Student Public Affairs News* (S.P.A.N.) was devoted to the legal aspects of eliminating segregation in higher education.

The current position of the Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. on race relations was expressed by the National Assembly meeting, held last winter, December 27, 1950 to January 2, 1951, as follows:

#### *Human Rights*

Because all men have dignity and worth in their common sonship under God, we believe that the basic foundations for freedom, justice and peace in the world lie in the recognition of full opportunities for

all men. Thus there are rights which should be available to all without discrimination as to race, color, sex, birth, social, economic status or creed...

We are uncompromisingly opposed both to racial discrimination and segregation, and shall work through the means of peaceful non-violent efforts for a social order which provides every individual regardless of race, opportunity to participate and share alike in all relationships of life.

We seek to free ourselves from prejudices and discriminatory practices and shall assure to all individuals the respect due them as children of God.

## Some Recent Statements of National Movements on the Race Problem

### RESOLUTION ON THE WHITE AUSTRALIA POLICY

*adopted by the Annual Business Convention of the Australian S.C.M.,  
January 1950*

This Convention resolves that the administration of the Immigration Act of 1901-1949, insofar as it totally excludes Asian peoples from permanent settlement in Australia, appears to be based on a sense of racial superiority and colour prejudices, and, insofar as it is so based, ought to be condemned as being contrary to the spirit of Jesus Christ; and further that the Federal Government be urged to use the discretion vested in it by the Act with a view to a more realistic and Christian administration of it, and this Convention suggests that the desirable basis of discrimination amongst intending migrants is not colour or race, but their capacity to be assimilated into the Australian community.

### UNITED STUDENT CHRISTIAN COUNCIL (U.S.A.) 1947

The following resolution was drafted and presented during the meeting and adopted.

VOTED : We have been confronted, at this IV Annual U.S.C.C. meeting, with a broken world desperately groping for a way of life which can assure peace and hope.

We believe the Gospel of Jesus Christ offers this way of life.

The demands of this Gospel have brought each one of us to a deeper consciousness of the pitiful inadequacy of his own discipleship. We have been driven to repentance. Standing under the judgment of God, we see clearly that more diligent Christian witness is required and that no one of us alone can bear this witness sufficient for the demands of his time. We must have the strength which is found only in the corporate body of Christ, His holy Church.

Racism is a cancer that eats deep into our democracy, the Christian Church and even our own student fellowship. It cuts across culture, isolates individuals and dims the Christian witness. In this festering sore in the very heart of what we try to do as Christians, the Negro in our life is hurt, frustrated and wounded and the souls of *all* citizens

are blighted by this disease of our social order. Worst of all, the witness of the Christian Church is weakened because the racism breaks its fellowship and thus the Church itself makes explicit the negation of Christian brotherhood. The problem of racism within the Church in our nation is not sectional. It is a corporate guilt of all the Church in all parts of the nation.

We, members of the 1947 U.S.C.C., realize that our weakness is one of the causes of the impotence of Protestantism toward this crucially important problem. Therefore, with the help of God —

1. We repent for our failure in the Church Universal to obey the will of God in this area of life.
2. We call upon each member of U.S.C.C. to urge his national student Christian movement within the coming year to make one of its major program emphasis that of improving race relations.

LUTHERAN STUDENT COUNCIL OF AMERICA

*Report of the Commission of Minorities, August 25, 1950*

1. The Lutheran Student Council of America takes an official stand against prejudice which expresses itself in discriminatory practices (such as segregation, etc.) toward minority groups, recognizing that the Christian belief in the "reality of loving one's neighbor" (Luke 10: 25-37) means positive action as well as written documents.
2. All members of the L.S.A.A. shall be encouraged to make a maximum effort toward integrating members of minority groups into fellowship on the campus, in the community and in the congregation.
3. Regional groups shall investigate their own minority problems.
4. The Christian approach to this problem must be grounded in prayer and Bible study.
5. The L.S.A.A. shall make every effort to arrange its conference at sites where discriminatory practices beyond our power to alter will not be forced upon it. However, the existence of discriminatory practices should not exclude the possibility of Ashrams being held in any region.
6. There shall be a special interest group on minorities' problems at Ashrams.
7. "The Reality of Loving One's Neighbors" shall be carefully considered as a theme for an Ashram.

8. In order to educate the members of L.S.C.A., information on minority group problems shall be distributed by means of :
  - A. Pamphlets
  - B. Study questionnaires
  - C. Study programs
  - D. Discussion of problem by traveling secretaries of D.S.S., L.S.A. officers, etc.
  - E. Articles in *Campus Lutheran*
9. In order to help L.S.A. to come face to face with minority group problems, the following special projects are recommended :
  - A. Workshops and projects
  - B. Exchange student programs between predominantly negro and predominantly white colleges and universities

## A NEAR EAST TRAVEL DIARY

ROBERT C. MACKIE

### The Lebanon

*I climbed into the French plane in Geneva at bedtime. The hostess informed us that she was sleepy and, turning off the lights, suggested that we trouble her no longer! The morning light over the Eastern Mediterranean woke me, and I looked down on the brown coast of the Lebanon. As I drove into Beirut, I found myself unprepared for its modernity, however recently acquired. But the bougainvillea and the Judas trees redeemed the pseudo-gothic portals and block-like apartment buildings. Always in the background opened the glorious bay of St. George with its sheltering wing of snow-sprinkled mountains.*

*The two universities of Beirut symbolise the rival cultures which have invaded the Middle East. The American University spreads its park-like campus over a noble headland, and the prevailing impression is of new ideas and freedom. The Jesuit University is in a crowded quarter of the older city, and in its cloistered court there is an air of discipline and learning. The Protestant Student House is a villa near the American University and I met its members one Sunday afternoon. As one of the leaders said to me, it was like any Westminster Foundation group in the United States, and I had an impression of clear ideals and open, friendly fellowship. Later I was to meet some of the leaders of the Orthodox Youth Movement, which reaches far outside the university milieu, but has its roots in a group of old members of the Catholic University. Our discussion was on the impact of religion on society, made vivid by the fire of Arab eloquence trained in French logic. These two youth and student groups are friendly to one another. Young Christians in the Middle East are not numerous, and they are at a disadvantage as regards immediate contacts. Europe is too far away, and the deserts cut them off from the rest of Asia. There is therefore a great eagerness to have more frequent and living contact with the World's Student Christian Federation and the Youth Department of the World Council.*

*But the real purpose of my coming to the Near East was to study the problems of the Arab refugees from Palestine, and to attend the Conference which took place in the hospitable American University building during the first week of May. By a very wise provision of the local*

organisers the delegates to the Conference had all the opportunity of paying previous visits to the refugees themselves. Our first trip was up the wonderful coast to Tripoli. The Dog River with its inscriptions of conquerors from Alexander to Anzac reminded us that the Near East has always been a place where opposing powers have tried out their strength upon one another. Then there was Byblos with its Crusader castle, and its classic pillars standing up in the bright sun against the sea. It was a good place from which to begin a visit to the Bible lands. Now for me the Land will always make its living presence felt in the Book. On we ran past the salt pans, with their windmills to pipe up the tide, until the splendid trio of harbour, plain, and mountain which make up the city of Tripoli opened out before us. The view over the harbour, where a wooden ship was being built, out to the tankers lying in the roads and the great sweep of mountains and seaboard to the coasts of Syria, was like some canvas by a master hand.

#### The Palestine refugees

Suddenly we came upon the refugee camp. It stretched back from the sea shore up the slope of a small barren hill, with a river and a strip of cultivated land between it and the mountains. I saw at once why there was such wear and tear amongst the tents, for even on a fine day the wind blew down the alleys between the rows and lifted all the curtains. Four thousand men, women and children were provided with food and shelter in this crowded area, through which ran the main highway to the north. All their pathetic efforts at privacy with thorn fences, barricades of petrol cans and mud walls were exposed to view as we threaded our way past the tent doors. It was the first of May and supplies were being issued for the whole month. The women piled the flour and rice and beans into cans and baskets and walked off with everything on their heads. How difficult to keep all this food in a tent, and to make it spin out for thirty-one days! And some of it would have to be sold or bartered immediately to produce the requirements of cooking. The men stood around in their long robes and Arab head-dresses, watching yet another visiting deputation. Their unspoken question was how long they were to be held there in idleness, so that minimum subsistence rations would suffice.

We visited the schools — just a group of tents round a sandy square, which the boys were trying to level for their games. U.N.E.S.C.O. had supplied pads and pencils for writing and a few school books had been issued, but the carpenter was teaching wood work without wood. There were neither funds nor equipment to educate all the boys, still less all the girls, in the camp. So what we saw was the chosen few selected by the

village units to have this privilege of a few hours of education every day, while their contemporaries hung around with envious looks.

Back we went to Tripoli and saw another camp of refugees, this time housed in an old stone-vaulted barracks, into which the sun only penetrated in fitful shafts of light. Here my impression was of a great effort towards cleanliness. We slipped on stone floors swilled with water, while wet clothes strung out on lines slapped our faces. Then we found a little corner of peace : a nursery school run by the Save the Children Fund with happy drawings on the wall, and those posters which encourage children to believe that their elders and betters are really building a peaceful world.

We spoke with the representatives of U.N.R.W.A. in charge, themselves all refugees ; we spoke with foreign representatives of voluntary bodies, one of whom lived in a tent, the only Christian in that camp by the sea shore. I thought of the five thousand once upon another shore nearby. Then the loaves and fishes had been more than enough for all. Today these gallant workers make do with what they have, and then meet the frustration and despair of the refugees. For the civilised world does not very much care what happens to the refugees, as long as they are quiet. The worst world problems are yesterday's problems, about which something, but not enough, was done, and which have not sufficient dramatic interest to provoke a new response. The three-quarters of a million Arab refugees are forgotten men.

### Cities of judgment

Next day our journey was to Tyre and Sidon. The names were so old and the judgment upon the cities so final in my memory that it seemed almost scandalous that such places should still exist. But there they are lying in the sun on the road and railway which stop at the Israeli frontier, their only trade supplied by a tenuous oil pipe line coming across the desert from another country. Tyre fascinated me. We crossed the causeway made by Alexander when he came to reduce the city, and were met by a veteran British missionary, who, as they say in the Book of Acts, "showed us much kindness". But her first question to me was the humiliating one : "When did you last read Ezekiel 26, 27 and 28 ?" I read them that night and my day seemed even more exciting in retrospect. For in very truth they did : "break down thy walls, and destroy thy pleasant homes". "The stones and the timber and the dust have been laid in the midst of the water." You can see the foundations troubling the waves as they break. But now all that remains of ancient Tyre is "the top of a rock... a place to spread nets upon". It would be difficult ever to talk lightly of prophecy again.

But back a little from the sea-front of this island of rock is a mediaeval Tyre with a labyrinth of broken-angled streets, and of separated religious communities. And there in a dark cavern, wholly unfit for habitation, lay a sick old man, whose only fault was that he too was a refugee. Outside the city in Moslem tombs and under the arches of an ancient aqueduct we found more exiles. I asked them where they came from and like music several voices answered : "Galilee". They told me of a blind shepherd boy amongst them, pining for his hills and his sheep. He seemed to symbolise this deep unmerited suffering of country folk who can no longer cross the hills to their old homes.

In the camp at Sidon representatives had been appointed to meet us. We were running an hour late and there was some talk of our passing on. But the men crowded round us, and we found ourselves silently propelled into a small hut, where speeches were to be made. The surrounding faces in their multitude were not angry faces. There were bitter things said about Britain and America, but there was great restraint and courtesy in entertaining us. The terrible feature of these faces was their hopelessness. No longer was there any expectation of a positive response to their protests. The forgotten men were themselves forgetting that peaceful homes were possible. They spoke darkly of revolt and future bloodshed, but in reality they were slipping into despair. As we came away we passed under the little city of Zarepta on the hill side, and I remembered the widow woman gathering sticks. Would these prophecies also come true ? : "The barrel of meal shall not waste, neither shall the cruse of oil fail." I felt that my assurance to the refugees of the interest of small groups of Christians was a poor substitute for the confident faith of Elijah.

The Conference, under the joint auspices of the International Missionary Council and the Department of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees of the World Council of Churches, was like any other well-arranged meeting of its kind. It simply registered information that was known before, in a way which made it difficult to escape from. No. It did more. It brought the representatives of the ancient churches of the Near East into cooperation with the churches of the West and missionary churches on the common problem of refugees. And the Conference had the courage to speak of resettlement in Arab lands outside Israel, while not denying the right of refugees to return to their own homes. To be dispossessed is the final human injustice, and every now and then the demand of restitution rose and passed over us as a wave of the sea. But abstract justice would not give families a new start and resettlement could. The onus which rests upon those of us who came from outside is to do everything we can to make that possibility a reality.

### Over mountain and desert to Jerusalem

*From Beirut we flew to the Old City of Jerusalem. Over the mountain tops we looked down on the dark patches where some cedars still remain. Then we were over the great fertile central valley and the second Lebanon range. Away in the distance lay Damascus, and then we turned south on the Damascus Road, circling the great white mass of Mount Hermon. Soon we could see the Jordan valley with the dark green ribbon of the river. Jericho was passed on our left and the skyline of Jerusalem came into view. A road crosses the runway of this surprising little airfield, and as we swept down we could see a policeman holding up the local traffic to allow our plane to land.*

*I had been a little doubtful about visiting the Holy Land for a long week-end. There seemed a certain impertinence, or even impiety, in touching down, having a look round, and then hopping off again. But the four days which I spent there with my colleague, and companion of many Federation visits, gave me something I never expected to receive. One essential factor was that we had as our guide in Jerusalem, Edward Every, and in Israel, Denis Baly, two friends with a unique capacity of informing a visitor without destroying his own impressions. At any rate I was gripped anew by the immediacy of the Gospel. The ancient world still lives in Palestine, as nowhere else, and yet the modern world has fastened upon Palestine, so that this strip of land has become one of the places where it is most clearly exposed to judgment. Thus the acts and words of Jesus have retained their historic vividness in a terribly apposite setting. They belong to yesterday and tomorrow, with no break in the sequence, so that today they seem perilously present.*

*No one, not even H. V. Morton, had prepared me for the slice of living history which is the old city of Jerusalem. It remains more truly oriental than any bazaar I have visited in Eastern Asia. It is not the churches and shrines, least of all the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, that make you feel you are treading upon holy ground. Other impressions go far more deeply into the mind. The ass in the old inn stable with the shaft of light falling upon it, the surprising accessibility of roofs in this piled-up area, the old crone huddled in a corner with her two or three eggs to sell, the sudden openness of the Temple Area, the olive trees and the fragrant southernwood in the Garden of Gethsemane, age-old memorials standing amidst the wantonly broken tombs in the Jewish cemetery, the brightness of the day, as we looked out of the darkness of the rock tomb — these spoke to me of Christ. It is the stones of Jerusalem which cry out to the passer-by today.*

*Two sacred sites, however, did startle me out of my complacency. The first was the flagstones of the Praetorium where Jesus stood amongst*

the jesting legionaries, and very especially that ancient carving which reveals their game of chance, when the dice might fall on a crown so that a prisoner awaiting death could be turned for a few hours into a carnival king. The second was the old minaret at the place of the Ascension, where we stood in the strong sun and looked away over the Jordan to the hills of Moab. The Great Commission, "Go ye into all the world", rests upon an assertion of authority, and in that tiny walled-off area above the city, where different churches rig up their own altars as they keep the feast, I had a sense of the naked power of that authority striking down into the life of men.

### The divided city

In his garden of Little Galilee upon the Mount of Olives we visited the venerable Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem. When he found I came from Scotland he could not resist a dry reference to a recent and regrettable incident at Westminster, and, as custodian of the Holy Places expressed the hope that I would take no stone away with me! As we stood under the olive trees and looked over the city, Israeli planes were provocatively celebrating their national day by wheeling over the territory of their neighbour. Across Jerusalem runs a ribbon of destruction, which constitutes Palestine's very real iron curtain, dividing the city into two parts with no dealings with, and no love for, one another. The opposing powers are more hostile for being in the same city. Once again Jerusalem has no knowledge of the things which belong to her peace. It was impossible not to recall again and again our Lord's lament over the city, and to see in Jerusalem itself the epitome of that spirit of divisiveness with which men seek to destroy the world.

Soon we crossed the no man's land and it gave me an uneasy conscience to leave the British-style uniform of the Arab Legion and dodge around buildings to encounter the British-style uniform of the Israeli police. In a few minutes I was discussing my plane ticket in the foyer of the King David Hotel. I had left the Orient and arrived in North America. Then I fell into a conversation with a young Jewish leader. We talked about the plight of the refugees, as if it was taking place on the other side of the world, instead of within a stone's throw. But already the Arab world was fading into the distance. I kept wondering whether I had already betrayed my purposes in talking with him, and tried to think up stronger terms of speech. But he turned to me courteously over the coffee cups and asked me what my ancestry was. I told him, and he remarked in friendly fashion, "My mother was a Glasgow woman". How could I keep up a pose of righteous indignation! I gave it up. The tragedy of Palestine makes no sense. Man's sin and folly never does.

### Travelling through the Bible

I was glad to be on the road again swinging down to the plains beside the sea. Side roads left us to end in barbed wire, and suddenly the highway doubled back like a hare and ran for miles in the wrong direction so as not to slip out of the country. I always had a feeling that at any point in Israel you could toss a biscuit into Jordan. That is the measure of the Jewish achievement in roads, and settlements, and all the evidences of a land being tamed. At the crossroads were garages and soft drink shacks with active men and women in shorts and open shirts tumbling out of lorries. I had the impression of an outsize Youth Work Camp.

As darkness fell we came into the wonderful bay of Haifa, and sat down on the terrace of our kindly hosts to watch the lights come out in the bay. Behind us rose Mount Carmel, and after breakfast we were back in the Old Testament with the greatest of the prophets. Our knowledgeable driver stopped to direct our gaze over the plain of Esdraelon, where ancient battles had been fought. The name of every hill and town evoked memories of Sunday School and family prayers. I made silent resolves to take the historical books of the Old Testament seriously!

Then round the bend we came to Nazareth. There is no "between the Testaments" in the Holy Land; they intermingle on every hillside. The unity of the Bible can never again be called in question. But Nazareth to the newcomer is bound to be breathtaking. Of course it is just an ordinary town with petrol pumps as well as wells, sprawling not too artistically on its hilly side. Indeed, its spirit only spoke to me indoors out of the bustle and the sun. There was the Scottish hospital with its Arab Christian patients, the young wife with the coins round her neck sitting beside the great gaunt-faced husband on the bed. I felt that Jesus might still pass by and say a word of cheer and healing, and no one would be surprised.

### Where all men are at home

Then we more or less stumbled on the inner core of Nazareth. The little French-speaking nun lit her lamp, beckoned us to follow her and disappeared into the earth. We stumbled and bumped our way along subterranean passages, through holes, round corners, up wooden steps and across chasms. Always she swept her habit round her and leapt nimbly ahead. And all the time she told us in artless and moving fashion of the childhood of our Lord, laying her hands reverently on ancient walls, tapping cobblestones with her feet, until we stood in what many believe to be the house which Joseph built with his own hands for Mary and her son. Up we came again to the blinding light, but part of us lingered in the darkness, where His feet must have passed. And as she showed us

out again through the gate in the wall we tried to thank her, and she gave us the charming Christian answer : "Do not thank me. It is your house."

Warmed in our hearts we climbed over the hill and slipped down into Cana of Galilee. "So that was why the mother of Jesus was there," I thought. The distance is just far enough to make a happy walk for neighbours. Up through the highlands of Galilee we climbed, passing the shepherd boy with his pipe, and the mountain town of Safad. Then down we swept to the Sea of Galilee. A lake does not change and the sailing boat half way across could not have changed much either. But it was a delight to find the shoreline so like what it must have been long ago. Capernaum lay behind us to the north as we turned towards Tiberias, and soon we were having refreshing tea in the cool room of another Scottish hospital. I stood on the flat roof and looked over the huddled town and across to the hills on the other side. So this was where the experiment began which changed the world! And is it so much changed? Only Jewish babies are born in the hospital and none of them are born into Christian homes. The Jewish tradition which was challenged once seems to have returned in force in our generation. And yet the messengers of the Gospel, so thinly strung out in the land of Israel, do not meet so much an ancient virile faith, as a modern secularism, which has discarded faith for works. However you explain the phenomenon of the Jewish come-back in Palestine, you are reminded that there the Church of Christ is still faced with its primary and its hardest task. All honour to those who bear His name and bide His time in the land of His birth.

Through the growing dark we came past Armageddon. It was all a little eerie, and I could never distinguish between a Crusader castle and a former police fort. We fell into bed at the airport and listened to a great plane roaring in with a new cargo of refugees for this astonishing land. Every few hours they come. Sixteen languages had been spoken one day in the Tiberias hospital. German was the language of the airport restaurant; our erudite driver paid the penalty of airing his Hebrew by being given a poorer breakfast as a local inhabitant! For Israel puts up a brave front to the visitor, and fights a determined battle for existence behind it. Will zeal and ingenuity and endless energy succeed in building a modern nation in an ancient homeland? It is a struggle between the wealth and brains of American Jewry and the silent antipathy of the Arab lands beyond. But in the struggle thousands of courageous, simple folk, themselves once homeless, have staked their all to find a home. A solution of the Palestine problem is surely not beyond the task of man, but is his spirit generous enough to permit the solution to be tried? I flew away to Italy with that unanswered question going round and round in my head.

## **BOOK REVIEWS**

### BOOKS ON U.S. RACE RELATIONS

#### *General*

RACE RELATIONS, by Brewton Berry. Houghton Mifflin Co., The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1951. \$4.75.

GENETICS AND THE RACES OF MAN, by William C. Boyd. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, Mass., 1950. \$6.00.

The books that are analyzed or mentioned in this article deal with the four largest coloured minority groups in the U.S.: Negroes, Mexicans, Indians, and Japanese. Although the 1950 U.S. Census does not give specific figures for any of these groups other than the Negroes, a fair estimate would be that together they number at least 15.3 million of the near total 150.7 million in the country. The Negroes are by far the largest group, totalling almost 14.9 million, or nearly ten per cent of the country's population. The Indians, probably the third largest of these four, are increasing faster than any minority group in the country — so the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs claims. Mexicans, probably second largest in size, continue to abound in the Southwest and West and to flit to and fro over the border depending on the need for migrant labour. The Japanese, despite their unfair treatment during the war, have held their own numerically. All of which shows that these coloured minority groups are very much a part of the U.S. scene and that they deserve the attention of every thoughtful citizen or friend of the U.S.

If one is interested in interpreting the U.S. situation in the light of non-technical sociology and anthropology, one might turn to Berry's new book, *Race Relations*. This book deals chiefly with the U.S. and the Negro, but contains a broad analysis of the complex interactions that take place when groups of people who differ racially and culturally contact one another. This reviewer conceives the book as written chiefly for the layman (although the author aims at college students) — designed to stir him up and acquaint him with the irrationality and wrongness of today's racial attitudes. In Part Two, Berry has excellent analyses of common race relations terms: assimilation, segregation, stratification, pluralism. The careful

thought given to these terms — and the well-chosen illustrations — make it an important book for those who wish to ground themselves in the subject. It would make an ideal objective text for S.C.M. study groups.

Boyd's recent study in physical anthropology, *Genetics and the Races of Man*, is a first-rate technical book. This study represents a new kind of attack on unfair race relations.

It bases anthropology on genetics rather than on the older systems of bone, skull, and hair configurations and measurements. The result is that the brotherhood of man is confirmed more emphatically than ever. After advancing his theory that blood group genes are the most suitable indices in establishing racial groups, Boyd distinguishes six genetically determined races. He then shows that there is no scientific ground for asserting — in any way — the superiority of one type of blood group gene over another. If Boyd could get the experts to talk his language, there would be little chance of bigotted laymen seizing on a certain skull shape, hair girth, or skin pigment, and saying, "Aha, this is superior to that". It's impossible to imagine how one mixture of A and Rh genes could be better than another. You can't even see genes.

#### *Negroes*

AN AMERICAN DILEMMA, by Gunnar Myrdal. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1944. 9th edition (2 volumes in 1). \$6.00.

NEGROES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY, by Maurice R. Davie. McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York, 1949. \$6.00.

THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES, by E. Franklin Frazier. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1949. \$6.00.

THE NEGRO FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES, by E. Franklin Frazier. The Dryden Press, New York, 1951 (revised and abridged edition).

THE ANNALS (May, 1951), bi-monthly publication of The American Academy of Political and Social Science. Single copies : \$2.00, non-members ; \$1.00, members.

PHYLON, The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture (quarterly). Single copy : \$.75.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCH AND THE NEGRO, by Frank Loescher. The Association Press, New York, 1949. \$3.00.

THE MARK OF OPPRESSION, by Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey. W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., New York, 1951. \$5.00.

The name of Gunnar Myrdal still looms high in the field of American Negro studies. His epochal *An American Dilemma*, made possible by the financial assistance of the Carnegie Corporation and the scho-

larly help of a host of specialists, should be given first priority by anyone investigating the U.S. Negro. It is comprehensive and thorough — any factual information gleaned from its pages can be depended on. Myrdal, a Scandinavian social economist, brings to his study a freshness in emphasis and vividness in analysis that is unknown in works of a similar nature. He is convinced that the "Negro problem" is a moral problem. It arises from the conflict that exists in the American white's mind between the "American creed" of equality and the prevailing treatment of the Negro in real life. This conflict is the American dilemma. How do we resolve this? Is it possible to do so? These are very real questions for the author. The relevance of Paul's words ring in the ears of readers so minded: "For I do not do the good I want, but the evil I do not want is what I do." In the Introduction and Part I (The Approach), Myrdal speaks of the way we rationalize or dodge this dilemma: the faltering judicial order, intellectual defeatism, lip service. Although Myrdal is not theologically minded, his books can convince theologically minded readers of the fact of sin here — sin shown in the social anxiety caused by the existence of this dilemma.

Of course, all this brings into focus the question of value premises. Myrdal, a great believer in the non-existence of "objective" study, has plenty of premises which he formulated during his research and which undergird this study. Are value premises compatible with scientific research? Yes, says this reviewer — especially after reading the sections in the Introduction and the Appendix on facts and valuations in social science, and on the necessity of manifesting biases. With his insistence on making points of view unmistakable for the reader at the beginning of a study the author has raised social science methodology to a new, practical level. This is a first-rate book in all respects.

Nearly all of the spade-work for Myrdal's approximately 1500 pages was done by fellow social scientists of this country. These men made the basic surveys, gathered the necessary data, and generally gave Myrdal the benefit of their long researches in Negro studies. Some of the work done in preparation for the *Dilemma* was of such singular importance that it was published separately. The pertinent parts of these "companion volumes" appeared, of course, in the final composite work. One of the best of these volumes is Charles S. Johnson, *Patterns of Negro Segregation* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1943, \$3.50), in which the many ways used to "set apart" the Negro are described strikingly and fully.

Not only are there works dealing with separate problems of the *Dilemma*, but there is a book which condenses the complete study.

This is Arnold Rose, *The Negro in America* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1948, \$3.75), which has the obvious merit of being published four years after the parent study. Rose was Myrdal's chief collaborator and was well qualified to mix his new data with the skilful lines laid down by his former master. This book is commended to those who have not the time to go to Myrdal himself. However, the reviewer feels that selective reading in the *Dilemma* is much preferred even to this excellent abridgment. For all his talent, Rose could not incorporate Myrdal's superb use of the English language and his "foreigner's curiosity about American civilization as a whole". Also, the helpful footnotes, the important appendices, and the exhaustive index are missing, of necessity, from Rose's book.

Myrdal's is not the only general study of the American Negro. In *Negroes in American Society*, by Maurice R. Davie, head of Yale's sociology department, we have an excellent developmental study. Davie's story begins in Africa. His three chapters on the antebellum days are the best concise treatment of this period known to the reviewer. This is only a small part of the book, however, as the author is more concerned with the contemporary aspects of the Negro problem. But the sociological history of the Negro is always in the background of the author's present-day analyses. This is a carefully balanced survey. Incidentally, Davie disagrees with Myrdal over values and attitudes of the individual involved — especially the whites. This "direct" approach, says Davie, follows logically from Myrdal's consideration of the Negro problem as a moral issue. This approach is needed, but it is not as important, nor as effective as the one which operates concretely on the actual situation — trying to educate the Negro, to industrialize him, to illegalize flagrant forms of discrimination. Davie sees men as less rational than Myrdal is willing to admit, and consequently less able to solve the problem when merely presented with a moral dilemma. It is a fascinating dispute with obvious truth on both sides. It helps to make the last two chapters on "The Future of the Negro" among the best in the book.

Another broad study of the American Negro is E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States*. Before World War II, Frazier was one of the cooperating scientists at work on what was to become *An American Dilemma*. Frazier prepared one of the memoranda upon which Myrdal's great work was based. After the war, Frazier felt his own researches on the general Negro problem warranted separate treatment — hence, *The Negro in the United States*. Whether there is enough supplementary material here so that another book on the general problem can be justified is seriously open to question.

Frazier thinks there is. He feels that Myrdal's work deals with broad social policy, whereas his own is concerned with the processes whereby the Negro has acquired American culture and has emerged as a racial minority. This reviewer does not think it possible to make such a sharp distinction between "broad social policy" and "acculturation processes". The two run together at almost every point. If one wishes to press the distinction, though, Frazier's work comes out on the short end: *The Dilemma* has both these emphases (despite what Frazier says), whereas *The Negro in the United States* is primarily a technical study with a minimum of social theorizing.

Frazier really comes into his own when he deals with his specialty: the Negro family. Although some of the fruit of this research appears in the above book, we must go to his *The Negro Family in the United States* for the full picture. The historical treatment, classification scheme, the new light thrown on the importance of sex and religion in Negro family relations, all make this a superb book. It is written in exciting language. Revealed within its pages are untold insights into the problem of why the Negro is as he is. Everyone should read at least one book by this great Negro sociologist — in the opinion of the reviewer it should be this one.

There are many works that deal with one or more particular aspects of the Negro problem. We can expect more of these, as more scholars are attracted to this field and the work becomes specialized. *The Annals*, bi-monthly publication of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, devoted its May, 1951, issue to "Civil Rights in America". Several of the articles deal directly with the American Negro's fight for equality — before the law, in the employment office, in the public school. These specialized articles can inform a person in a few minutes' time on what has recently happened in certain aspects of Negro life in this country.

A periodical of constant usefulness is *Phylon*, the "Quarterly Review of Race and Culture" published by Atlanta University. This is by far the best periodical dealing with the Negro problem. Edited and chiefly written by Negroes, it contains dependable articles written by authorities from all over the world and from varied racial backgrounds. One can keep superficially abreast of publications in the field — fiction included — by reading Alain Locke's annual article, "A Review of the Literature of the Negro". Professor of philosophy at Howard University, Locke has written these articles in the first quarter issue of each year since 1947. They cover the publications of the past year, which means we have a convenient survey here of the important material which has appeared since the first post-war year of 1946. In addition, every issue of

*Phylon* carries individual reviews of nearly all the books even remotely connected with the field. This review section covers both scientific studies and *belles lettres*. It is difficult to estimate this reviewer's immense enthusiasm for *Phylon*.

There are many aspects covered only slightly in the above cited works which deserve separate treatment. One of these — of especial interest to S.C.M. readers — is the relation of the Protestant Church and the Negro. Frank Loescher's *The Protestant Church and the Negro* is a good study in this area. Seventeen Protestant denominations were examined; of the twenty-five denominations that held membership in the then Federal Council, fifteen of the largest were included here. As most people know, the Protestant Church is one of the worst offenders in race relations. This book does not pull any punches in its analysis.

An increasingly important element in the field is covered in superb fashion by Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey in *The Mark of Oppression*, which is a psycho-cultural study of the American Negro. This book gets at the subjective side of the problem: what it feels like to be a Negro, what kind of a behaviouristic response is forced on one-tenth of our population because of segregation and discrimination, how most Negro personalities are permanently warped because of the practices of our culture. The psychological effects of being a Negro are drawn from an extremely careful case history analysis of twenty-five Negroes. Immediately one questions the sampling technique — is it representative enough to form theories about Negro psychology, especially when most of the individuals are neurotic? The authors wonder about this too, but point out that thoroughness in testing (plus unusual care in the selection of individuals) atone for this seeming lack. After all, they say, do not Freudian psychodynamics rest on the analyses of five published case histories? Extensive sessions with therapists, Rorschachs, and Thematic Apperception Tests are all employed in this study. The basic thesis of this book — that human personality varies with the conditions to which it must adapt — is not new. It had been advanced in early books by Kardiner and his associates and in Cora DuBois' famous *The People of Alor* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, Minn., 1944, \$7.50). Its truth, however, is driven home more acutely here than ever before. This is a very important book and, though technical, should be consulted by every one interested in the Negro problem.

*Mexicans*

THE MEXICAN IN THE UNITED STATES, by Emory S. Bogardus. University of Southern California Press, Los Angeles, 1934. \$1.60 (out of print). Though somewhat outdated, this is a good general summary of the Mexican situation. Careful sociological distinctions help to classify the various groups in the heterogeneous Mexican population of this country.

NORTH FROM MEXICO, by Carey McWilliams. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1949. \$4.00. A sympathetic, dependable study of the Spanish-speaking peoples of the U.S. Extremely well written.

*Indians*

INDIANS OF THE AMERICAS, by John Collier. W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., New York, \$3.75 (New American Library, Mentor Books, \$.35). This book covers the Indians south and north of the Rio Grande. Although written by the man who was U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945, and who was largely responsible for the U.S. Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, this book is confusing. No attempt is made to guide the reader through the historical and legal intricacies of U.S. Indian affairs. Pertinent parts of Felix S. Cohen, HANDBOOK OF FEDERAL INDIAN LAW (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 4th printing, 1945) should be used to supply the missing objective elements in this book. Otherwise it is a good general study.

ACCULTURATION IN SEVEN AMERICAN INDIAN TRIBES, by Ralph Linton (editor). Appleton-Century, New York, 1940. \$4.00 (out of print). A first-rate sociological study of what happens when Indians have to adjust to the dominating white man's ways.

*Japanese*

PREJUDICE. JAPANESE-AMERICANS: SYMBOL OF RACIAL INTOLERANCE, by Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1944. \$3.00. A good summary treatment of the Japanese problem since 1890, with emphasis chiefly on later years. Excellent analysis of the phenomenon of prejudice.

THE GOVERNING OF MEN, by Alexander H. Leighton. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1946. \$4.00. This is the story of Boston, the largest of the ten Relocation Centers established during the war by the U.S. government for Japanese internees. Although almost a handbook for administrators, this book contains valuable

insights into the behaviour patterns of people under stress. The author maintains that successful governing of men depends in part on the staunch refusal to recognize stereotyped racial, national, and class divisions.

JOHN D. EUSDEN.

THE EDWARD W. HAZEN FOUNDATION, 1925-1950. Published by the Edward W. Hazen Foundation, 400 Prospect Street, New Haven, Conn.

This brochure, obtainable on application to the above address, is a report of the work of the Hazen Foundation. Previous reports were published in 1930, 1940 and 1945, but the present one is more comprehensive and tries to make explicit the insights gained as a result of the Foundation's twenty-five years of activity. The report is divided into three sections.

I. *A Comprehensive Survey.* This section describes the founding, purposes and activities of the Foundation. Edward Warriner Hazen, who was born in 1860 and died in 1929, had a great interest in young people and in the sound character development upon which useful and constructive lives might be built. His life was motivated by religious principles which he saw exemplified in the life and teachings of Jesus. In his latter years, he established a Foundation, the assets of which will ultimately include the whole of his considerable fortune "to promote the public welfare through agencies and activities of a religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational character." A summary is given of the main projects to which the trustees have devoted the \$1,625,495 which the Foundation has expended during the past twenty-five years.

II. *Reflections on Opportunities of a Small Foundation.* A "small" Foundation is defined as one with an annual income of \$100,000 to \$500,000 ! The work of the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations is well known. However, it is not generally realized that in the United States there is a multitude of smaller Foundations devoted to educational and charitable purposes. Among these, the Hazen Foundation has increasingly emphasized work for college students and has specialized in helping creative pioneering enterprises to get under way.

III. *Some Observations on Higher Education.* Here attention is called to : a) the movement to re-think education with the student as the main focus of attention ; b) the growing concern for religion among American educators ; c) the role of colleges in international understanding.

Of special interest to members of the Federation are the various activities of the Hazen Foundation related to religion in the university. In the early thirties when attention was called to the scarcity of scholarly, attractive and inexpensive books for young people in the field of religion in the United States, the Foundation initiated the enterprise which resulted in the series of thirteen Hazen Books on Religion, which include Calhoun's *What is Man?* Steere's *Prayer and Worship*, and Vlastos' *Christian Faith and Democracy*. The value of the series is attested by the fact that the books, now published by the Association Press, are still in demand and more than half a million copies have been sold. They were produced on a non-profit basis and made available to students at fifty cents. In the past five years a similar series dealing with current religious issues has been started under the name Haddam House Books. In this series there are already eleven titles including John Bennett's *Christianity and Communism*, Miller's *Christian Faith and My Job*, and Nichols' *Primer for Protestants*. These two series, which have helped innumerable American students clarify their thinking about the implications of Christianity for their lives, have been launched only because the officers of the Hazen Foundation have been alert to the religious needs of students. In addition to books, the Foundation has published many pamphlets dealing with the relation of religion to higher education, international cultural cooperation and student counselling. The most recent of these is the important series entitled Religious Perspectives in College Teaching which deals with the implications of Christian faith for teaching of various academic disciplines.

Another area of the Foundation's activity has been the offering of grants to individuals for study or as Hazen Associates. For the next three years, \$10,000 annually has been allocated to enable national or regional leaders of the S.C.M. in Southeast Asia to obtain advanced training. This program will, of course, be pursued in close collaboration with the W.S.C.F. Hazen Associates, who number almost seven hundred, are persons who are in positions to influence students for good by direct personal contact, and about one hundred small annual grants are made to help them to entertain students in their homes. The W.S.C.F. has had the privilege of nominating some of these Associates outside the U.S.A., so that there are leaders and senior friends of the S.C.M. in many countries who have been helped by the Hazen Foundation to make their homes a focal point in the life of the S.C.M. Finally, we refer to the program of conferences and consultations sponsored by the Hazen Foundation, which are briefly described in the report. These have included a long series of conferences of university faculty members on the problem of student

counselling, of which six have been held in Canada and many more in the United States. The W.S.C.F. Conference on the Meaning of History held at Cornell University last year was made possible by the Hazen Foundation, which is also largely responsible for financing the projected first consultation of Christian university teachers in Southeast Asia, which is being organized by the Federation.

Many readers of *The Student World* have heard of the Hazen Foundation and dimly realized that at many points its interests and concerns coincide with those of the Federation. This brochure will enable them to understand the varied and important ways in which the Hazen Foundation, without any fanfare or desire for self-aggrandizement, has sought to strengthen individuals and movements working for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom in the universities of the world.

A. JOHN COLEMAN.

THE RELIGION OF COLLEGE TEACHERS, R. H. Edwin Espy. The Association Press, New York. \$2.75.

No one doubts that the main influence shaping the religious convictions of students during their college days is the personality, attitude and convictions of the college teacher. In the book under review Edwin Espy gives us a systematic and detailed study of the beliefs, practices and religious preparation of four hundred and forty faculty members in church-related colleges in the United States. Many sweeping generalizations have been advanced by different authors about the religion of American college teachers. Here are the facts with which to refute, confirm or qualify such generalizations.

The reviewer knows of no one more qualified to undertake this study than Dr. Espy. He is well known in the Federation, since he served for three years as General Secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement in the United States and is now Executive Secretary of the National Student Council of the Y.M.C.A. in the United States. His theological studies in Europe, followed by his work as Organizing Secretary of the World Conference of Christian Youth in Amsterdam, 1939, provided him with the perspective necessary to understand and wisely interpret the complex religious phenomenon which the American college teacher represents. The book, which is a digest of a Ph. D. dissertation submitted to Yale University in 1950, is based on a careful statistical study of the background, philosophy of education, extra-curricular activities and convictions of teachers in

seventy-three colleges widely distributed over the whole of the United States and related to twenty-nine different Protestant denominations. About half of those questioned teach English, with the remainder divided equally among economics, sociology and physics.

The core of the book is in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, entitled respectively Faculty Profile, Faculty Religion, and Faculty Preparation, which summarize the facts elicited in the study. About fifty per cent of those questioned entered the teaching profession with the conviction that college teaching is a strategic Christian vocation. On the average they spend two to four hours a week on individual counselling of students on matters outside their particular academic subject. Their theological convictions proved to be more orthodox than many, including the reviewer, would have expected. Thus, seventy-two per cent believe "that all men stand in need of divine salvation through Christ", and seventy-seven per cent believe that prayer is necessary to the Christian life. Even so, some might believe that theological confusion is evidenced by the fact that forty-two per cent believe "that man is fundamentally good and his inherent goodness is indicated in his increasing capacity by using his intelligence to solve the problems that confront him". Eighty-nine per cent attempt to interpret the realm of value in their particular subject, and seventy-one per cent find that their religious convictions give them added insight into their own subject. Eighty-three per cent regard it as their duty to aid the S.C.M. on their campus if requested to do so.

In a concluding chapter Dr. Espy formulates fifteen issues which this study raises for all those concerned about religion in the university, and particularly in church-related colleges. Space permits us to quote only one : "Should concerted efforts be made to draw religiously interested teachers into a closer spiritual and intellectual comradeship, and if so, whose responsibility should it be to exert such efforts ?" This issue, which has been discussed widely in the Federation during the past ten years, is raised vividly by the study, since fifty per cent of the teachers "feel the need of intimate informal discussion and fellowship with other faculty members around common religious interests".

In his concluding paragraphs the author returns to what he regards, and rightly so, in the opinion of the reviewer, as the central question. "The principal religious and intellectual issue disclosed by this study is the dichotomy between Christian faith and concepts on the one side and educational philosophy and practice on the other. How can the two become one ? How can the teacher, looking to God as the source of truth, communicate such divine light as is vouchsafed to him in a way which causes his students to know

whence it comes? How, in a word, can he make his life work a testimony to the divine order?"

Many will find this book helpful and illuminating. Anyone in North America who is concerned for religion in the universities — whether he be chaplain or S.C.M. Secretary, educator or minister — simply *must* read it for the new insights into his own situation which it will evoke. Readers outside North America will find in this book many facts which will enable them more fully to understand the inner spiritual nature of the church-related college in the United States, and, as a result of the many questions raised in this study, will be moved to approach the religious situation of the university and its faculty in their own countries with new eyes.

A. JOHN COLEMAN.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, by Cecil Woodham-Smith. Constable and Co., Ltd. London. 15s.

It is exciting to become acquainted again with Florence Nightingale. Most of those who have learned about "the lady with the lamp" in their nurses' training have done so with little enthusiasm; this revealing and faithful study of the founder of the modern nursing profession should be for them the cause of rejoicing. The author carries us through a vast amount of detailed information, including lengthy quotations, yet the book moves rapidly and is fascinating throughout.

Private notes and letters give a vivid picture of the early family life of Florence. Tedious consultations with aunts and uncles and cousins over every activity within the large family circle and unending social rounds were characteristic of this class and period of English society. The woman's place was in the parlor doing needlework. The growing, unspoken dislike of Florence for this way of life is reflected for the reader in her own words and gives a real feeling of the conflict involved in a decision to leave her home.

Outside, the hospital life was in sharp contrast — drunkenness and prostitution among the nurses, dirt, disorder and disease around the sickbed. To associate the daughter of any reputable family with a hospital was unthinkable. The author makes us understand why Mrs. Nightingale could not even mention the word "hospital" without disgust. We also enter the secret world of Florence from her earliest years through her correspondence and personal notes and see the constant struggle that lay there, and the real life of sorrow, hard work and joy which resulted from her decision to leave her family. These intimate sources of information available to us give us an insight into

her religious and moral inner life which no friend or family member shared at that time.

The British public loved her and made her their heroine and she becomes so again today when we relive Scutari where she and her nurses served the war wounded, and in the process the status of nurses was remade and a new army medical service, hospital sanitation and the Red Cross found beginnings. It has so often been romanticized for us that we feel hesitant in our reactions. The author allows us to decide for ourselves and every possible source of information is laid open to us — private letters, official correspondence, notes from soldiers, the opinions of nurses working with her, the view of the press in Britain. The result is not a collection of excerpts but a moving story which grips and holds us to the end : "Two figures emerged from the Crimea as heroic, the soldier and the nurse. In each case the transformation was due to Miss Nightingale... She taught officers and officials to treat the soldiers as Christian men... Miss Nightingale had stamped the profession of nurse with her own image... In the midst of the muddle and the filth, the agony and the defeats, she had brought about a revolution."

She became the expert of the British Army on all questions of health and sanitation. The next fifty-four years of her life were spent mainly as an expert in everything from sinks to Indian villages. Her vast, detailed, personal knowledge on sanitary questions was matchless ; the results of her study on conditions in Indian military barracks alone filled a room. She carried on an immense personal correspondence. "She had infinite wisdom in the ways of government departments" and she needed it when her zeal and programs ran into official complacency. In this tangled maze of activities, Miss Smith skilfully draws out the main lines and clearly leads us through, and yet has time to deal with the many complicated personal relationships of Miss Nightingale (she was in many respects an eccentric and difficult woman) frankly and fairly. It is an outstanding book by any standard.

This book faces us with a dominant personality. The contrasts are vivid and often difficult to catch. Florence Nightingale never wished to sit for a portrait during her life. Our lack of knowledge of her physical appearance is more than made up by this penetrating biography. In it we may see and understand this woman who has touched us all through her long life of public service.

ELIZABETH BRIDSTON.

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